STUDIES IN ENGLISH

NUMBER 13

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS BULLETIN

No. 3326: July 8, 1933

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN

Publications of The University of Texas

The University publishes bulletins four times a month, so numbered that the first two digits of the number show the year of issue and the last two the position in the yearly series. (For example, No. 3301 is the first bulletin of the year 1933.) These bulletins comprise the official publications of the University, publications on humanistic and scientific subjects, and bulletins issued from time to time by various divisions of the University. The following bureaus and divisions distribute bulletins issued by them; communications concerning bulletins in these fields should be addressed to The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, care of the bureau or division issuing the bulletin: Bureau of Business Research, Bureau of Economic Geology, Bureau of Engineering Research, Interscholastic League Bureau, and Division of Extension. Communications concerning all other publications of the University should be addressed to University Publications, The University of Texas, Austin.

Additional copies of this publication may be procured from the University Publications, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas

at

$1.00 per copy

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS

STUDIES IN ENGLISH

NUMBER 13

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS BULLETIN

No. 3326: July 8, 1933

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY FOUR TIMES A MONTH AND ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER AT THE POSTOFFICE AT AUSTIN, TEXAS, UNDER THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912

The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.

Sam Houston

Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of Democracy, and while guided and controlled by virtue, the noblest attribute of man. It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge, and the only security which freemen desire.

Mirabeau B. Lamar

CONTENTS

SIR THOMAS ELYOT AND THE "SAYINGS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS"

By D. T. Starnes

In former articles I have pointed out an extensive indebtedness to Elyot's *The Governour* (1531) in the way of borrowings,[1] adaptations, and imitations by various writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The main objects of the present study are three: (1) to trace through the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth the history of the lives and sayings as a type of writing; (2) to establish the relationship of Elyot's writings to books concerned with the lives and sayings of the philosophers; and (3) to show further indebtedness of authors or compilers to *The Governour* and to other works of Elyot. In attempting to realize these objects, I follow the chronological order as seeming best designed for presentation of the materials which I have collected.

I

The history of the type here dealt with may be said to have begun in the early decades of the third century A.D., with *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*[2] by Diogenes Laertius. A part of Laertius's work became known to scholars of Western Europe through a Latin adaptation,

---

[1]See my "Notes on Elyot's *The Governour* (1531)," *Review of English Studies*, III, (January, 1927), 37–46; "Elyot's Governour and Peacham's Compleat Gentleman," *Modern Language Review*, XXII (July, 1927), 319–322; "Shakespeare and Elyot's *Governour*," University of Texas *Studies in English*, No. 7 (1927), 112–132; "On the Picture of a Perfit Common Wealth," University of Texas *Studies in English*, No. 11 (1931), 32–41.

[2]For information on this book and its author, see the edition with an English translation by R. D. Hicks (Loeb Classical Library), 1925, pp. 10 ff. See also Richard Hope's *The Book of Diogenes Laertius*, New York, 1930.

in the early fourteenth century, by Walter Burley (1275–1346), an English disciple of Duns Scotus. Although Burley[3] drew indirectly, perhaps, for his *De Vita* some matter from Diogenes Laertius, to whose work he acknowledges indebtedness from time to time, he gathered also from other sources—from Cicero, from Valerius Maximus, from Vincent de Beauvais, from John of Salisbury.[4] With the coming of the Renaissance and the consequent renewal of interest in the lives and opinions of the ancients, the work of Laertius and of Burley was eagerly read by scholars in England and in other European countries if one can judge from the fairly frequent printings[5] of the works and from the wide use of the sketches and sayings in the literature and in the popular treatises of the sixteenth century.

Laertius's plan of organization serves, with modifications, as a pattern for subsequent writers of this type of work. In a prologue the author explains briefly the nature and the beginnings of philosophy, the divisions of the subject, and the successions or schools of philosophers. With the rather loose grouping according to schools, Laertius proceeds to write biographical sketches of eighty-two of the ancient philosophers. A sketch usually consists of a short account of the subject's life, including information as to his training and experiences; a statement of his principal

---

[3]Burley's work, with the title *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*, is reprinted by Hermann Knust in *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Tübingen, 1886, CLXXVII. Any references I make to Burley's book will be to this reprint. Knust reprints also, in parallel pages, an Old Spanish translation of the *De Vita*. His copious references to parallels in other authors and compilers are very helpful to the student.

[4]See Knust, pp. 401–405. According to Hope (p. 12) the parts of Burley which derive from Diogenes Laertius are mainly in the lives of Socrates, Aristippus, Xenophon, and Aristotle.

[5]For editions of Laertius, see Hope, pp. 21–29 and 223. Cf. also, Hicks, p. xxxii. Latin editions of Laertius appeared at Rome, 1432; Venice, 1475; Nuremberg, 1476; Venice, 1490; Bologna, 1495; Antwerp, 1566; Paris, 1570, etc.; Basel (Greek), 1533. For early editions of Burley, see Knust, pp. 405 ff. Cf. also, Clarke, *A Bibliographical Dictionary*, 11, 83. Latin editions appeared at Cologne, 1472; Nuremberg, 1490; Paris, 1500 (?) and 1510.

opinions; and a list of his writings. The narrative is enlivened by the introduction of personal anecdotes, by recording the subject's allegedly acute or clever answers to questions proposed, or by listing a series of his pithy sayings, which embody some ethical or philosophical principles or express a bit of worldly wisdom.

Although Burley's work is of the same general pattern, especially with respect to the method of treating individual philosophers, there are several important differences.[6] There is, for example, in Burley's *De Vita* nothing corresponding to the Prologue of his predecessor's *Lives* on the origin and divisions of philosophy. Laertius is concerned entirely with the lives and sayings of philosophers; whereas Burley includes philosophers and poets. Laertius sketches 81 lives; Burley, 132. Laertius treats 37 authors whose names do not appear in Burley; and Burley treats 88 not considered by the earlier writer. In short, of the 213 sketches involved, only 44 are common to Laertius and Burley; and in only a few of these[7] is the medieval writer drawing upon his forbear.

Burley's *De Vita,* then, erratic as it often is, is something more than an adaptation[8] of Diogenes Laertius. One of the significant divergences from his prototype is Burley's inclusion of the lives and sayings of a great number of poets. In fifteenth-century editions this extension is indicated on the title-page, as in *Liber de Vita ac Moribus Philosophorum Poetarumque Veterum . . . Coloniae* (c. 1470). Pertinent to my discussion is the fact that Burley's innovation anticipates the practice of compilers of similar treatises in the sixteenth century, in which, though the philosophers and

---

[6]Valentinus Rose, "Die Lücke im Diogenes Laertius und der alte Übersetzer," *Hermes,* I (1866), 367–97. I have not been able to see Rose's article. Obvious differences I am noting on the basis of my own examination of the texts.

[7]Cf. note 4, *supra.*

[8]For some of the mistakes of Burley in confusion of names and in citation of sources, see Knust, pp. 400–405. Cf. also the *Dictionary of National Biography,* under *Burley.*

their sayings are retained as most important, sketches of poets, orators, and rulers are often included.

Contemporary with the early printed editions of Burley and of Diogenes Laertius was the first book printed in England, under the title *Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres* (1477). Caxton's choice of a book to print was, in more ways than one, significant. He doubtless sensed the beginning of a popular interest in this type of work—an interest that, with almost no lapse, was to persist for more than a hundred years. His text for the *Dictes* Caxton got from Lord Rivers, who had translated from the *Dits moraulx des philosophes* of Guillaume de Tignonville[9] (d.1414). What de Tignonville's source was, we do not know. There are, however, certain correspondences in the *Dictes* and Burley's lives that seem to indicate a definite relationship. De Tignonville may have known Burley's book or a derivative of it. Caxton's book is, however, much less pretentious than its predecessors. There are only twenty-two authors[10] represented; the biographical matter is much reduced; and the emphasis is on the wise sayings. The popularity of Caxton's book is indicated by the fact that from 1477 to 1489 it went through four editions.[11] Because of the larger compilations, such as those of Diogenes Laertius and Burley, and the somewhat similar work of Erasmus, professedly classical in origin, the vogue of the *Dictes* waned at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, it was still read at the end of the century, as the wording of many quotations in *Wits Commonwealth*[12] (1598) testifies.

---

[9]Cf. Nellie Slayton Aurner, *Caxton*, pp. 67–70, 74n.

[10]These are Sedechias, Hermes, Tac, Zalquinus, [H]omer, Salon [Solon], Sabyon, Hypocras, Pytagoras, Dyogenes, Socrates, Platon, Aristotle, Alexander, Tholome [Ptolemy?], Aslawn, Legmon, Amese, Thesille, Sacdazge, Saint Gregorie, Galyen. Only nine of these names reappear in later lives-and-sayings books.

[11]Cf. Aurner, p. 216. For Miss Aurner's analysis of the contents of the *Dictes*, see pp. 67 ff. See also the facsimile reproduction of the *Dictes*, London, 1877.

[12]Some of the wise sayings in *Wits Commonwealth* which derive ultimately from the *Dictes* came through the *Morall Philosophy* by Baldwin (augmented by Palfreyman). These which follow, however,

When, in 1531, Erasmus published the first books of his *Apophthegmes,* he was consciously following an established tradition. In the Preface, he wrote:

> I have therefore out of every good aucthour for the moste parte, chosen and gathered that the Grekes callen *Apophthegmata,* that is in English, notable good and brief saiyinges, for that I sawe none other kinde of argument, or matter more fit for a prince, especially being a yong man, not yet broken in the experience of the world. In deede *full convenient and mete to be knowen are those thinges, whiche thauncient Philosophiers have left in writing of honest behaveour, or well governyng and orderyng a commonweale, and of kepyng warre.*[13]

Though Erasmus draws from many sources, he acknowledges, later in the same preface, greatest indebtedness to Plutarch's *Apophthegmes.* Among the index of authors from whom he had gathered materials Erasmus lists *Diogenes Laertii vitae philosophorum.* In the text proper, he frequently cites Laertius as authority, and quotes from *The Lives,*[14] and in some cases, as in the sketches of Anaxarchus and of Aristippus, Erasmus follows closely without acknowledgement, the text of Laertius. The arrangement of the *Apophthegmes* in books, although following the lead of Plutarch, is not dissimilar to the method of Laertius. It is noteworthy, however, that Erasmus like Caxton, reduces the biographical sketches; and like Burley[15] includes poets, princes, philosophers, and divers kinds of men. The emphasis, however, is, as in Caxton, not upon biographical matter, but upon ethical opinions and wise sayings. These

---

seem to come directly from the *Dictes* into *W. C.* "Sapience is the defense of the soule and the myrrour of reason, etc." (Cf. *W. C.*, under "Of Wisdome"); "Galyen said Wysdom can not proufyt to a foole ne wytte to hym that useth it not." (Cf. *W. C.*, under "Of Wit.")

[13]From Udall's translation of the *Apophthegmes* (1542; reprint 1877). The italics are mine.

[14]Cf. *Apophthegmes,* Bk. II, Chilo, 1; Bk. III, Socrates, 37, 45, 93; Bk. III, Diogenes, 39; Bk. VI, Solon, 1.

[15]Although I find no direct evidence that Erasmus used Burley's work, there are numerous parallels between the *Apophthegmes* and the *De Vita* (cf. Knust, footnotes *passim*). Of course, both authors derive somewhat from Laertius and probably other common sources, as Valerius Maximus—a circumstance which might account for the parallels.

"notable good and brief sayings . . . which thauncient Philosophiers have left in writing" embody the experience of wise men of antiquity and, though meet to be known of all men, are of special value to those concerned with the governing of the commonweal. Such is the impulse which prompted the industry of Erasmus; and such is the *leit-motiv* of the collection and diffusion of wise sayings throughout the century.

One of the early admirers of Erasmus in England was Sir Thomas Elyot. In *The Governour* he recommends the *De Copia* and the *Institutio Principis Christiani,* and more than once pays tribute to the great Dutch scholar. It is a question whether Elyot had read the *Apophthegmata* when he first published *The Governour,* inasmuch as the two books appeared in the same year.[16] Correspondences in the use of illustrative matter, including pithy sayings of the great, might be explained by the authors drawing from a common classical source. It is not my purpose here, however, to establish the exact relationship between *The Governour* and *The Apopthegmes.* The point of interest is that, whatever his source, Elyot continues in *The Governour* the custom of employing the sayings of the philosophers. He quotes, not as detached sayings, but as matter illustrative of his discourse the words of Democritus, of Diogenes, of Carneades, of Chilo, of Pittacus, of Pythagoras, of Plato, of Socrates,[17] and others commonly treated in books of apophthegmes and sayings.

The Bankett of Sapience (1539, 1542, etc.) is, as to form and content, of the genre. Although *The Bankett* owes most to the church fathers, it has moral and sententious sayings from various authors, including some of the ancient philosophers. And the arrangement of these sayings under the appropriate headings, with the citation of the authors, seems to anticipate the popular compilations which were to appear later in the century.

---

[16]Only the first three books of the *Apophthegmes* were published in 1531.

[17]Cf. *The Governour,* pp. 237, 52, 192, 202, 264, 204, etc.

Of more significance than *The Bankett* in disseminating a knowledge of the lives and sayings of the ancient philosophers is Elyot's Latin-English Dictionary (1538; 1545; 1548). One feature of the Dictionary is that it contains brief biographical sketches of statesmen, writers, and philosophers of antiquity. Brief as these sketches generally are, they use freely illustrative anecdotes and wise sayings.[18] At first distributed through the text proper, these short lives together with other encyclopedic materials are, in the second and subsequent editions of the Dictionary, relegated to the end of the book as a section of general information. This part of the Dictionary is of special interest in this study. Obviously, Elyot and, later, Cooper, draw from various sources the biographical matter. Most convenient, however, were the compact single volumes which contained numerous biographies. Among these were, of course, Laertius's and Burley's lives of the philosophers, and Erasmus's *Apophthegmes.*

How far the Dictionary is directly indebted to Laertius it is difficult to determine with precision, for some matter doubtless came through Erasmus, who in turn had adopted sketches and sayings from the lives of Laertius. At the end of the Proheme to the 1545 edition of the Dictionary, Laertius is listed among the Greek writers from whom Elyot drew. In the sketch of Crates, Elyot quotes Laertius, and he seems to have been following the same authority when writing of Architas.

Though nowhere mentioned in the Dictionary, Walter Burley's lives contributed to the sketches of Carneades, Calisthenes, Aristides, Anthenodorus [sic] (from Burley's Athenodorus), Anaxagoras, and Anaxarchus.

For further biographical information on Cicero and Dionysius, the Dictionary refers its readers to Erasmus's *Apophthegmes.* To this source, also, is owing the materials

---

[18]In his Preface to the first edition of his Dictionary (1538), Elyot, describing the contents, writes, "Nor have I omitted proverbs, called Adagia, or other quick sentences whiche I thought necessary to be had in rememberance."

for the brief sketches of Agesilaus, Archelaus, Cato Maior, Demetrius Phalerius, Phocion, and probably others.

In all of this borrowed material, the makers of the Dictionary introduced freely the wise sayings[19] from the sources. Revised and enlarged by Thomas Cooper, first under the title *Bibliotheca Eliotae*—the title which Elyot had given to the issue of 1545—and, later, under the title *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565), the Dictionary had a continuous vogue to the last decade of the century, and was imitated and borrowed from by other lexicographers from approximately 1530 to 1700.[20] In the various editions of the Elyot-Cooper lexicon the accounts of the lives and sayings of the sages were retained, and these are among the borrowings, liberally taken over, by subsequent compilers of English-Latin dictionaries down to the eighteenth century.[21] It may be said, then, that Elyot's Dictionary together with the imitators and borrowers proved to be a powerful factor in the diffusion and popularization of the lives and sayings of the philosophers.

The popularity of Erasmus's *Apophthegmes* was enhanced by translations of many of them into English by Richard Taverner,[22] and by Nicholas Udall. Pertinent to

---

[19]See, for example, under the following entries in the Dictionary or the *Bibliotheca Eliotae:* Anacharsis, Calisthenes, Carneades, Cato, Anaxagoras, and various others.

[20]Editions of Elyot's book: The Dictionary 1538; enlarged by Elyot, with title *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (1545); revised by T. Cooper, under same title, 1548, 1552, 1559; incorporated by Cooper into his *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae,* 1565. Other editions, 1573, 1578, 1584, 1587. Other dictionaries that followed the plan of Elyot's and borrowed freely from it are John Higgins's revision of Richard Huloet's *Abcedarium* (1552; rev. 1572); Thomas Thomas (1588?; 1592, etc.); Thomas Holyoke (1677); Adam Littleton (1678). Thomas Thomas's dictionary seems to have been the real successor to the Elyot-Cooper dictionary. There were twelve editions of Thomas's book from about 1588 to 1620.

[21]Compare for example, in the various dictionaries mentioned above, the entries under Anacharsis, Anaxagoras, Anaxarchus, Anaximander, to mention only a few.

[22]See Professor Baskervill's account (*S. P.*, XXIX (1932), 149–159) of Taverner's work and his relation to Erasmus. Much of what

my purpose in this discussion is Udall's translation (1542) of two Books of the *Apophthegmes.* The title-page of his edition reads in part thus:

> Apophthegmes, that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie and sentencious saiynges, of certain Emperours, kynges, Capitaines, Philosophers, and Oratours, as well Grekes as Romaines, both veray pleasaunt and profitable to reade . . . .

It will be observed that the philosophers and poets have been augmented by a notable company of kings and captains and orators, and that the translator has emphasized especially the "quicke, wittie, and sentencious saiynges." We shall see below how this title-page was adapted by another compiler and made to serve for an extremely popular book that continued into the seventeenth century. Without doubt the tradition of presenting in brief compass the wisdom of the ancients was given impetus by Taverner's and by Udall's translations of the *Apopthegmes* into English.

Five years after Udall's translation, the conventions of this type of writing were brought to a focus in a little book compiled by William Baldwin and published in London. The title-page of the first edition reads:

> A Treatise of Morall Philosophy contaynynge the sayinges of the wyse.
>
> Gathered and Englished by William Baldwin. Imprinted at London . . . 1547.

In the compilation of this book Baldwin availed himself of the popularity of his predecessors' work in this field, as well as of the contemporary interest in philosophy and biography. Baldwin is indebted to Diogenes Laertius, to Walter Burley, to the *Dictes or Sayengis,* to Erasmus, and to Elyot. The indebtedness to Laertius is heaviest. To him Baldwin owes the general pattern of organization; much of the matter in the preliminary chapters on the beginnings and the divisions of philosophy; the content, in large part, of

---

Taverner published as his own collection from original sources was taken from Erasmus's *Apophthegmes.*

eighteen[23] of his twenty-three lives; and many of the precepts of the wise (Bk. II).

The debt to Walter Burley's *De Vita* is not so large. Baldwin's sketches of Pythagoras, Isocrates, and Plutarch are fairly close to Burley's account, and, although common sources might explain the similarities here, the probability is very great that Baldwin drew directly from Burley. Certain of the precepts and sayings seem also to derive from Burley.

Baldwin's sketch of Hermes, which is admittedly pieced together, is in part a paraphrase of the account in the *Dictes or Sayengis.* Likewise, the precepts or sayings ascribed to Hermes (Baldwin, Bk. II) appear to be a paraphrase of the *Dictes.*

To Erasmus, Baldwin's debt is large and difficult to indicate fully. In his sketch of Aristippus, Baldwin takes certain details from Erasmus, and then refers his reader to the *Apophthegmes* for additional sayings of this philosopher. In the sketch of Diogenes, Baldwin refers the reader to Udall's translation for more information. In Book IV he pays tribute to Erasmus as "one of the best learned of our time," refers approvingly to his work in collecting proverbs and "semblables," and shows how Erasmus used semblables or parables.[24] Baldwin then inserts in his book a number of the *Similia* which he had translated from Erasmus. These he supplements with comparisons which he claims to have translated himself from the ancients—Aristotle, Plutarch, Seneca. Here, then, is a new element in combination with the lives and sayings. Its roots, of course, are in Erasmus's *Parabolae aut Similia:* and the custom of making comparisons persists through the century,

---

[23]These are Thales, Solon, Chilo, Bias, Periander, Anacharsis, Myson, Epimenides, Anaxagoras, Pherecydes, Socrates, Xenophon, Plato, Xenocrates, Arcesilaus (in part), Aristotle, Diogenes (in part), Antisthenes.

[24]Cf. *Treatise of Morall Philosophy* (1555), reprinted Arber, 1907, pp. 178–179; see also pp. 180–185 for certain of Baldwin's translations of the *Similia* or "Semblables."

finding consummation in the famous *Palladis Tamia* of Meres.

It is noteworthy, too, that, though the general pattern of the *Morall Philosophy* derives from Laertius, certain sections of it were very probably due to the influence of Erasmus. Book III—"Of Proverbs and Adages"—with the various subdivisions, and Book IV—"Of Proverbs and Semblables"—are divisions, which, in my opinion, were inspired by the *Adagia* and the *Similia.* In organization, then, and to some extent in content Baldwin's work is a synthesis and a modification of the traditional treatises of the lives and sayings of the philosophers. And Baldwin's is the form in which the type had its greatest popularity.

Since Baldwin's plan does persist, it is necessary to indicate more particularly the nature of his organization. His *Morall Philosophy* is divided into four books, as follows:

Book I. "The Lives and Witty answers of the Philosophers"
Book II. "Of Precepts and Counsels"
Book III. "Of Proverbs and Adages"
Book IV. "Of Proverbs and Semblables"

Each Book is further divided into chapters with definite headings. The first Book follows the general order of Laertius's *Lives,* with preliminary chapters on the beginnings of philosophy; and then a chapter each devoted to various philosophers, as Thales, Chilo, Bias, etc. In the remaining three Books, the arrangement is somewhat more complicated. (1) There is the caption for the particular Book, as "Of Precepts and Counsels"; (2) under the general caption is the chapter heading, as "Of Friendship and Friends"; "Of Riches and Poverty"; "Of Wisdom"; (3) then above each saying within the chapter is the name of the sage to whom the opinion is ascribed. For example, in the chapter (VI) "Of Friendship and Friends," the wise sayings are headed by the name Cicero, Pythagoras, Plato, etc.[25]

[25]Baldwin is quite unreliable in his ascriptions of the sayings. He anticipates criticism in his generous ascriptions to Socrates. He admits that he ascribes to Socrates many sentences whose authors he

Baldwin's plan of organization—somewhat of a composite of the work of his predecessors—is the one destined to persist for many decades, to be used by his imitators in compiling wise sayings, and even to be adapted by the collectors of poetic anthologies.

Some time between 1547 and 1555, the dates of the first and second editions of Baldwin's treatise, Thomas Paulfreyman (Palfreyman) had published, with some presumption, it would appear, an augmented and altered version of Baldwin's *Morall Philosophy.* Palfreyman's partial justification is to be found in the suggestion by Baldwin, in his first issue, that others more learned might handle his "rude beginnings." In the Dedicatory Epistle to the 1555 edition Baldwin admits having made such a suggestion, but he remarks,

> I thought nothing less than to have any other man plow with my oxen; or to alter, or augment my doings: which, perchance if I had thought meet, I could, and would have done as well as any other.

To Palfreyman's alterations and omissions Baldwin objected. He felt that the original purpose of his work had been somewhat obscured, so that he was the more ready to prepare a new edition (1555) entirely in harmony with his original intention.[26] Apparently, the version augmented by Palfreyman entirely supplanted in popular esteem Baldwin's little treatise, for no independent edition of the latter appeared after 1555.

Although he augmented and altered the original treatise, Palfreyman retained the general pattern of Baldwin's work.

---

did not know, "that the authority of the speaker might cause the matter to be more regarded" (p. 124). A comparison of Baldwin's text with that of Diogenes Laertius shows that where Baldwin was following Laertius, he frequently put the matter under the wrong caption; for example, some of the sayings of Chilo are placed under the name of Cleobulus (which appears in Laertius immediately above that of Chilo); and sayings of Periander (immediately below those of Chilo) are placed under Chilo, etc.

[26]"I hoped that some learned therein would have perused the Rabbis: some other, the Romans; some others, the Sages of our own country; and have severally gathered together—their Lives and Sentences: and thereout made such like and better Volumes, than I had stolen from among the Latins and Grecians" (pp. 7–8).

The title-page of the 1575 edition by Palfreyman is interesting as indicating his resolution to maintain the extended scope of the type, suggested earlier by Erasmus and Udall, and to emphasize the popular features that had come into this type of writing; namely, the lives, the sayings, the witty answers, the precepts, counsels, and even the similes or "parables." It reads:

> A Treatise of Morall Philosophy contaynynge the sayinges of the wyse, wherein you may see the woorthye and pythye sayinges of Philosophers, Emperours, Kynges, and Oratours: Of their lives, their aunswers: of what linage they come of . . . whose worthy Sentences, notable Precepts, counsels, and Parables, doe hereafter follow. First gathered and set forth by Wylliam Baudwin, and nowe once againe augmented and the thirde tyme enlarged by Thomas Paulfreyman . . . 1575.[27]

Palfreyman continued to augment the volume, if we can trust to the title-pages, until the 1596 edition reads the "sixth time enlarged" by Thomas Palfreyman. Editions appeared in 1564, 1567, 1579, 1584, 1587, 1591, 1596, 1600, 1610, [1620?] [1635?] [1640?] The *S.T.C.* lists eighteen editions which appeared by 1640; and fourteen of these were issued by the year 1600. For almost a hundred years, it appears, the Baldwin-Palfreyman compilation was one of the most popular books in England. Its popularity is reflected directly by the succession of editions, and indirectly by the extent to which it furnished matter to other compilers, whose books, in turn, enjoyed a wide vogue.

II

In his augmentations of Baldwin's treatise, Palfreyman incurred the most extensive debt to Sir Thomas Elyot. To this author he had doubtless been directed by Baldwin's tribute in his first issue of the *Morall Philosophy;* and in

---

[27]Other title-pages of this work, such as those of 1591 and 1596, vary slightly from this in wording. Palfreyman's title-page seems to reflect a part of that by Nicholas Udall in the 1542 issue of Erasmus's *Apophthegmes.* Compare with the title-page above, this from Udall: "Prompte, quicke, wittie and sentencious saiynges, of certain *Emperours, Kynges, Capitaines, Philosophers and Oratours.*"

drawing from Elyot, Palfreyman was following an author who, as we have seen, was himself in the tradition. A considerable part of the matter added by Palfreyman derives from three books of Elyot: the Latin-English *Dictionary* or *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (1538, 1545, 1548); *The Governour* (1531); *The Image of Governaunce,* compiled of the acts of Alexander Severus (1541). The specific indebtedness of Palfreyman to Elyot may be indicated thus:

A. Elyot's *Dictionary* and the *Morall Philosophy*

The first issue of Baldwin's book contained only twenty-three biographical sketches of the ancients, not one of which was indebted to the work of Elyot. By 1596 Palfreyman had increased the original number of sketches to fifty-five. Of these, fifteen were lifted almost *verbatim* from the *Dictionary* or *Bibliotheca Eliotae.* These are the sketches of Ambrose, Cicero, Democritus, Demosthenes, Ennius, Galen, Homer, Horace, Ovid, Pacuvius, Phaeton, Philip of Macedon, Plautus, Pompey, and Theopompus.

Two examples will suffice to show the character of Palfreyman's borrowings from the *Dictionary.* In the first, he shows slight divergences from his source; in the second, he is so near to the original that it is hardly necessary to quote both texts. The examples here follow:

(1) Democritus

Dictionary:

Democritus, an excellente philosopher, who beynge a childe, learned of the wise men of Chaldea astronomie & their divinitie: afterward he went into Perse to learne geometrie, and then into Chaldea to know divine misteries, long after he returned to Athens, where he gave his possessions and riches innumerable unto the weale publike, reserving a littell gardeyne, wherein he mought at more libertee, serche out the secretes of nature. He wrate many wonderfull workes in naturall philosophie and phisicke.

Morall Philosophy, fol. 15:

Democritus was a right excellent and noble Philosopher. In his childhood, he learned of the wise men of Chaldea, Astronomie and their divinitie. He went after that into Persia, to learne the art of Geometrie. After he returned into Athens, where he gave his possessions and riches innumerable, unto the weale publike, onely reserving to himself a little garden, wherein he might at more libertie, and

with much quietnesse search out the secretes of nature. He wrote many wonderfull and notable works concerning naturall Philosophy and Physicke. . . .

(2) Homer

Dictionary:

Homerus, the chiefe of all poetes, whose proper name was Melesigenes, but because he was blynde, he was called Homerus, which in the tunge called Ionica, signifieth blynde. Cicero Tuscul. 5 saith, It is written that Homer was blynde, yet we see his picture and not his poeme. For what cuntry, what marches, what navie, what mocions of myndes, as well of man as of beastes, are expressed in such wyse that he maketh us to see that he saw not. Plutarchus in the boke which he wrate of hym saieth, that in his two workes, he comprehendeth bothe the partes of man. For in the *Illiade* he describeth strength and valyantnesse of the bodye, in *Odyssea* he dooth sette foorth a perfecte paterne of the mynde. Not withstandyng for his undiscrete fablyng of godes and goddesses, Plato excluded hym out of his weale publike.[28]

B. *The Governour* and the *Morall Philosophy*

Although in one instance Palfreyman acknowledges indebtedness to Elyot's *Governour* for a short quotation (*M.P.*, fol. 54b–55a), he does not credit Elyot with numerous long excerpts that derive almost word for word from *The Governour*. Such passages are generally ascribed to Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, or some other classical writer referred to by Elyot. Of the pages of excerpts that I have collected from Palfreyman, I reproduce here only a few to show how closely the compiler follows his original.[29]

(1) Of Counsel and Counsellors

(a) *Governour*, p. 292.

More ouer it is to be diligently noted that euery counsayle is to be approued by thre thinges principally, that it be ryghtwyse, that it be

[28]The *Morall Philosophy*, fol. 18, borrows this passage practically word for word, breaking it up, however, into three short paragraphs and making trivial changes in spelling and punctuation.

[29]These excerpts are from the edition of 1596 of the *Morall Philosophy* (Huntington Library). All references are to this edition. For the reader's convenience, as for my own, I have used the "Everyman" edition of *The Governour*, and have made all page references to this volume. Captions used in illustrations below are from Palfreyman's work.

good, and that it be with honestie. That whiche is rightwise is brought in by reason. For nothing is right that is nat ordred by raison. Goodnes cometh of vertue. Of vertue and reason procedeth honestie. Wherfore counsayle being compact of these thre, may be named a perfecte Capitayne, a trusty companyon, a playne and unfayned frende.

(b) *Morall Philosophy*, fol. 60b.

It is to be diligently noted, that every counsell is to be approved by three things principally: that is, that it be righteous, that it be good, and that it stand with honestie. That which is righteous is brought in by reason: for nothing is right that is not ordered by reason. Goodnesse cometh of vertue: of vertue & reason proceedeth honestie, wherefore counsell being compact of these three, may be named a perfect captaine, a trusty companion, a plaine and unfained friend.

(2) Of Parents & bringing up of Youth

(a) *Governour*, p. 71.

Quintilian saith, that it is so moche the better to be instructed by them that are beste lerned, for as moche as it is difficulte to put out of the mynde that whiche is ones settilled, the double bourden beinge painfull to the maisters that shal succede, and verily moche more to unteache than to teache.

(b) *Morall Philosophy*, fol. 73b.

It is moste meete to be instructed by them that be best learned, for as much as it is difficult to put out of the minde that which is once settled: the double burden being painfull to the Maisters that shall succeede, and verily much more to unteach then to teach.

(3) Of Patience

(a) *Governour*, p. 232.

Patience is a noble vertue, appertayninge as well to inwarde gouernaunce as to exterior gouernaunce, and is the vainquisshour of iniuries, the suer defence agayne all affectes and passions of the soule, retayninge all wayes glad semblaunt in aduersitie and doloure.

(b) *Morall Philosophy*, fol. 110b–111a.

Patience is a noble vertue appertaining as well to inward, as to outward government, and is the vanquisher of iniuries, the sure defence against all the effects and passions of the soule retaining always glad semblance in adversitie and dolor.

In addition to the passages used above for illustration, I have recorded—and the record is not exhaustive—forty-five others which the *Morall Philosophy* borrows from *The Governour*.[30]

---

[30]As it is impracticable to quote here all matter derived from *The Governour*, I tabulate references to indicate the borrowings. (Key to

C. *The Image of Governance* and *Morall Philosophy*

In the augmentation of his book Palfreyman ransacked *The Image of Governance* (1541) in somewhat the same fashion as he had *The Governour*. There is perhaps even less of rearranging in the borrowings from *The Image*. In general the excerpts are long, they are little changed, and they are nowhere said to be from Elyot's work. The compiler generally inserts in the margin opposite these borrowings *Alexander Severus (Alex. Sev.)* to indicate Severus as his source. As these two volumes are rare, as there is no modern reprint of either, and as so little change is made, I shall insert three of the more prominent passages from the *Morall Philosophy*, with an indication of the folios in the *Image* from which the matter derives.

Morall Philosophy — *Image of Governance*

(1) fol. 54a. — from — fol. 16b.

The Princes pallace is like a common fountaine or spring to his citie or countrey; whereby the people by the cleannesse therof be long preserved in honestie, or by the impureness thereof are with sundry vices corrupted. And untill the fountaine be purged, there can never be any sure hope of remedy.

(2) fol. 54a. — fol. 32b–33a.

The counsaylors and houshold servants of the Prince, being well tryed, and by his owne examples brought in good order: also the head Officers, Judges, and all others that have authoritie in the publike weale, being well chosen and instructed by the example of the Princes court: it should be wonderful to behold with how little difficultie and how soone the residue of the weale publike should be brought into

---

tabulation: fol. 54a and b (p. 203) means that the *Morall Philosophy*, fol. 54a and b, derives in part or as a whole from *The Governour*, p. 203; and so on throughout). The tabulation follows: fol. 54a and b (p. 203); fol. 54b–55a (p. 120); fol. 55a–55b (p. 204); fol. 60b (p. 292); fol. 61a (p. 292); fol. 61b (p. 293); fol. 61b (p. 294); fol. 62a (p. 296); fol. 62b (p. 295); fol. 63 (p. 117); fol. 64a (p. 128); fol. 65a (pp. 130, 134); fol. 65b (p. 238); fol. 66b (p. 209); fol. 69a and b (pp. 195, 205); fol. 73b (p. 71); fol. 75a (p. 204); fol. 79b (pp. 160–164); fol. 80a (p. 163); fol. 88 (p. 268); fol. 91b (pp. 273–4); fol. 101a (p. 236); fol. 110b–111a (pp. 232, 234, 233); fol. 111a (p. 236); fol. 112b–113a (pp. 158, 148); fol. 113a and b (pp. 159, 160–61); fol. 115 (p. 246); fol. 124b (p. 267); fol. 124b (p. 263); fol. 127a (p. 191); fol. 128b (pp. 191, 189–191); fol. 131b (p. 136); fol. 144 (p. 233).

good fashion, all men delighting in vertue, and praising the beauty and commoditie thereof in their superiours: also reioycing at the affabilitie and gentlenesse of so vertuous & noble a Prince, & semblably dreading his severitie, they shall (at the last) in such wise bring vertue in custome, whereby it will happen that such vices as before seemed but little and were nothing regarded, shall become to all men, or at the least to the more part, most filthy and detestable. (3) fol. 71b. fol. 80b–81a.

Iustice maketh lawes and not lawes Iustice: also he that readeth the law seeth the commandement of Iustice, but seeing the law onely in that that he seeth it, he doth not know Iustice. But contrariwise, he that knoweth Iustice, by her may he discerne what is right, or what is wrong: what is equall or unequall, and by the patterne of Iustice, may invent a remedy proper or necessary, which expressed in word or writing may be called a law.

The knowledge of Iustice eyther happeneth by speciall influence from the high God, or else it is gotten with the studie of wisedom, comprehended in the bookes of wise men: who of Pithagoras were called philosophers, which doth signifie the lovers of wisedome: Wherefore they which by divine inspiration, or by study of the works of excellent wise men, have the true knowledge of Iustice, & have best understanding what is iust, and consequently can provide remedies according to iustice. Which remedies if they once be made universal they be lawes, howsoever they be pronounced, be it by a multitude, or by one person.[31]

In restrospect, we may recall that the lives and sayings of philosophers as a type of writing seems to have been established by Diogenes Laertius (c. 200 A.D.); that in Western Europe the type was again exemplified, with modifications, in Walter Burley's *De Vita* (1235?), who for plan and, to some extent, for subject matter, was indebted to Laertius; that with the invention of printing and the revival of interest in letters these works enjoyed a wide vogue in the fifteenth century; that in 1477 Caxton printed *The Dictes or Sayinges,* a work related to that of Burley; that

---

[31]Other passages derived from *The Image* and varying in length from a short paragraph to a page or more may be indicated thus:

M. P. from *Image*	*M. P.* from *Image*
(1) Fol. 55a—fol. 19a–b	(6) Fol. 71a—fol. 28a
(2) Fol. 55b—fol. 85b	(7) Fol. 72b—fol. 89b
(3) Fol. 57a—fol. 97a	(8) Fol. 86a—fol. 89a
(4) Fol. 58b—fol. 65b	(9) Fol. 133a—fol. 36a
(5) Fol. 70b—fol. 90a	(10) Fol. 178a—fol. 80b

the work of Erasmus, particularly the *Apophthegmes,* was in the tradition in the early sixteenth century, as was that of Elyot in *The Governour, The Bankett of Sapience,* and *The Dictionary.* Baldwin's *Morall Philosophy* served to bring to a focus and to express in the vernacular the elements of popular interest, which had appeared in the more pretentious lives and sayings. In this popular form Baldwin's book was virtually absorbed through the numerous enlargements which Thomas Palfreyman made by drawing upon Elyot and other popular writers. Philosophy, as far as this can be called philosophy, was thus brought "out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies" and even in the marketplace.

III

The long-continued popularity of Palfreyman's *Morall Philosophy* I have noted above. The vogue of his book, as that of Elyot's *Governour,* persisted through the century. In the late nineties, however, there appeared other compilers[32] who, availing themselves of the popularity of *The Governour* and the *Morall Philosophy,* adapted much of the subject matter in those two books and published a series of popular and obviously interrelated volumes which continued the tradition of the wise sayings. I refer to the compilers of *Politeuphuia or Wits Commonwealth* (1597–1598), *Wits Theater of the Little World* (1599), *Belvedere, the Garden of the Muses* (1600), *A Perfit Commonwealth* (1600), *Vertues Commonwealth* (1603). To me, these, especially the first three, represent the further modification and popularization of sayings of philosophers and others in the sixteenth century.

The problem of the exact relationship of *Politeuphuia or Wits Commonwealth* (Pt. I.) to its predecessors and to its immediate successors is difficult, if not impossible, of

[32]It is not my purpose in this paper to go into the rather vexed question of the authorship of these popular compilations—*Wits Commonwealth, Wits Theater, Belvedére,* etc. I use for convenience the names of the imputed authors employed in the *Short Title Catalogue.*

solution. In general, it may be said that this book is a composite; it draws, as I shall demonstrate below, from the Baldwin-Palfreyman compilation, from Lyly's *Euphues,* from Elyot's *Governour* and *Bankett,* from Erasmus's *Apophthegmes* and *Similia,* from Caxton's *Dictes,* and probably, in some cases, from a version of Laertius's or Burley's *Lives and Sayings of the Philosophers.* Without doubt the heaviest indebtedness is to the *Morall Philosophy,* so freqently augmented by Palfreyman. But Palfreyman's version included the major portion of the original *Morall Philosophy* by Baldwin; and Baldwin had drawn from Laertius, Burley, and, to a less extent, from Caxton and Erasmus. And the augmentations of Palfreyman were in the main from three books of Elyot. The compiler of *Wits Commonwealth* was, through extensive use of Palfreyman, indirectly indebted to the various collections named above. Complications begin, however, when we learn that *Wits Commonwealth* also draws directly from Caxton's *Dictes,* Erasmus's *Similia,* and Elyot's *The Governour* and *The Bankett.*[33] Elyot had, however, used Erasmus, and both Erasmus and Elyot had drawn from common sources—Laertius, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and others. In such complex relationships it would seem well nigh impossible to reach any definite conclusions. Fortunately, for the investigator, however, Nicholas Ling (or whom you please), the collector of materials for *Wits Commonwealth,* seldom translated from originals. He took matter second-hand and often slavishly followed his immediate sources. The parade

---

[33]For examples of direct borrowing by Ling from the *Dictes,* see note 12 above. Cf. also *Dictes* (p. 88), "Loke thou be not as the butler whiche casteth the floure and keepeth the brenne," and *W. C.*'s "Be not like the Bolter that casteth out the flour and keepeth the bran." Ling lists among authors quoted in *W. C.* the name of Erasmus, though such ascription is hardly evidence, in view of the compiler's general laxness. See, however, "Of Similitudes," in which two of the comparisons are ascribed to Erasmus, and many others not acknowledged are from the *Similia.* For the relation of *W. C.* to *The Bankett,* see Crawford (p. xiv). For direct borrowings from *The Governour,* see *infra.* Tilley (*Elizabethan Proverb Lore,* p. 383) quotes passages which *W. C.* takes from Lyly's *Euphues.*

of classical authorities comes from the English sources, or, as in many cases, is made for the occasion. It is possible, therefore, by a close examination of the phrasing in *Wits Commonwealth,* correctly to assign the immediate source. My purpose here is not to attempt an exhaustive discussion of the sources, but to illustrate two of the significant ones and to show that *Wits Commonwealth* is, in reality, another form of the popularized sayings of the philosophers. The sources which I refer to are Elyot's *Governour* and Palfreyman's *Morall Philosophy.*

Since indebtedness to the latter book is greatest, I will consider the *Morall Philosophy* first. Crawford[34] suggests that *Wits Commonwealth* owes its organization to Elyot's *Bankett of Sapience.* Obviously, the compiler, as Crawford points out, knew the *Bankett;* but it seems to me more likely that the arrangement of the matter under headings, as "Of Poetry," "Of Kings," "Of Wisdom," with citation of authorities, was suggested by Palfreyman's popular book, to which *Wits Commonwealth* owed so much of its content. Arrangement of matter is similar in the two books, and there is considerable correspondence of topics. Such topics—common to these two books of Palfreyman and Ling—are "Of Law," "Of Justice," "Of Counsel," "Of Friendship," "Of Liberty," "Of Women," etc.

More significant for my purpose, however, is the close similarity of the sayings or statements, under the various headings, in *Wits Commonwealth* to those in the *Morall Philosophy.* A few examples[35] here follow:

Of Law

(1)

M. P., fol. 65b.

Cicero *de lege* saith that the law is a certaine rule proceeding from the minde of God, perswading right and forbidding wrong.

---

[34]Cf. Crawford's edition of *England's Parnassus* (1913), p. xiv.

[35]These quotations are from the 1596 edition of the *Morall Philosophy* and the 1598 edition of *Wits Commonwealth,* both in the Huntington Library.

W. C., fol. 83b.

The Law is a certaine rule proceeding from the minde of God, perswading that which is right, & forbidding that which is wrong. *Cic.*

(2)

M. P., fol. 67a.

The law that is perfect and good would have no man condemned nor yet iustified, untill his cause were both throughly heard and knowne.

W. C., fol. 85a.

The lawe that is perfit & good would have no man either condemned or iustified, untill his cause were both thoroughly heard and understood as it ought.

(3)

M. P., fol. 67a.

Lawes of men may be likened to cobwebs, which doe tie or hole the little flyes fast, but the great flies breake forth and escape.

W. C., fol. 85a.

Lawes are like Spyders webs, which catch the small flies, & let the great break through.

Of Wisdom

M. P., fol. 89a.

Wisedome is like a thing fallen into the water, which no man can find except hee search at the bottome.

W. C., fol. 41a.

Wisedome is like a thing fallen into the water, which no man can finde, except he search at the bottome.

Of Justice

M. P., fol. 70a.

Iustice is a measure which God hath ordained upon the earth to defend the feeble from the mightie, and the true from the untrue, and to root out the wicked from among the good.

W. C., fol. 82b.

Iustice is a measure which God hath ordained amongst men upon earth, to defend the feeble from the mightie, the truth from falshood, & to root out the wicked from among the good.

The list of parallels could be greatly extended. Though my study is not exhaustive, I have noted more than a score of quotations[36] which *Wits Commonwealth* takes from the *Morall Philosophy.*

---

[36]Some of these may be indicated as follows (The folio number outside the parentheses refers to the *Morall Philosophy;* that within the

One interesting feature of these parallels is that they show the compiler of *Wits Commonwealth* drawing from the *Morall Philosophy* some of the matter which Palfreyman had borrowed from Elyot. Thus, indirectly, Ling becomes a debtor to *The Governour* and *The Image of Governour*.[37]

There is, however, abundant evidence to show that the collector of excerpts for *Wits Commonwealth* knew *The Governour* first-hand and borrowed from it. On the topics of gaming, flattery, knowledge, patience, temperance, liberality, and dancing Ling makes direct borrowings. Compare the following:

Of Gaming

Gov., p. 110.

But who hering a man, whom he knoweth not, to be called a disar, anone supposeth him not to be of light credence, dissolute, vayne, and remisse.

W. C., fol. 250a.

Sir Thomas Eliot (that worthy Knight) in his booke of governance asketh; who will not thinke him a light man, of small credite, dissolute, remisse, and vaine, that is a dice-player or a gamster.

Of Flattery

Gov., p. 190.

. . . flatery from friendship is hardely severed, for as moche as in every motion and affecte of the minde they be mutually mengled to gether.

---

parentheses, to the part of *Wits Commonwealth* which has matter corresponding): Fol. 66b (fol. 84a); fol. 66b (fol. 85a); fol. 67a (fol. 85b); fol. 67a (fol. 83b); fol. 69b (fol. 82a); fol. 69b (fol. 83a); fol. 70a (fol. 82b); fol. 70a (fol. 81b); fol. 70b (fol. 82b); fol. 88a (fol. 39b); fol. 88b (fol. 40a); fol. 89a (fol. 41a); fol. 60b–61a (fol. 85b); fol. 61a (fol. 85b–86a).

[37]The following passages come from *The Governour* by way of the *Morall Philosophy:* (1) *W. C.*, fol. 73b (Of Nobility); cf. *M. P.*, fol. 64a–65a, and *Gov.*, pp. 128–130. (2) *W. C.*, fol. 61b (Of Friendship); cf. *M. P.*, fol. 79b, and *Gov.*, pp. 162–64. (3) *W. C.*, p. 69 (1663) (Of Kings); cf. *M. P.*, fol. 54b, and *Gov.*, p. 203.

The following derive from *The Image* by way of *M. P.:* (1) *W. C.*, p. 70 (1663) ("The Princes pallace . . ."); cf. *M. P.*, fol. 54a, and *Image*, fol. 16b. (2) *W. C.*, p. 81 (1663) ("He that would be ruler . . ."); cf. *M. P.*, fol. 58b, and *Image*, fol. 65b.

W. C., fol. 32b.

Flattery is a pestilent and noysome vice, it is hardly to be discerned from friendship, because in every motion and affect of the mind they are mutually mengled together.

Of Knowledge

Gov., p. 51.

Also the same Alexander often tymes sayd that he was equally as much bounden to Aristotle as to his father kyng Philip, for of his father he receyved lyfe, but of Aristotle he receyved the waye to lyve nobly.

W. C., fol. 46b.

Alexander the great made so great account of knowledge and learning, that he was wont to say, he was more bound to Aristotle for giving him learning, than to his father Philip for his life: sith the one was momentary and the other never to be blotted out with oblivion.[38]

The list of passages drawn directly from *The Governour* and from Palfreyman's latest augmentations of the *Morall Philosophy*, though not exhaustive, is sufficient to demonstrate the heavy indebtedness of *Wits Commonwealth* to these two works, and thus indirectly to the conventional sayings of the philosophers. Whether Ling drew matter directly from Laertius or Burley, it is hardly possible to prove. But that he wished to give the impression of having borrowed from these early sources is obvious. In the list of authors—not at all dependable, as Crawford points out—the compiler cites Diogenes Laertius, and an array of philosophers whose sayings Laertius had recorded, such as Aristotle, Aristippus, Bias, Bion, Chilo, Diogenes, Hermes, Pittacus, etc. These names are recurrent as authorities in the course of the text proper. It seems clear, then, that Ling wished the readers of *Wits Commonwealth* to understand that he was a *bona fide* compiler of wise sayings of the philosophers.

---

[38]For other parallels in *Wits Commonwealth* and *The Governour*, compare, "Of Patience," *W. C.*, fol. 61b, and *Gov.*, p. 236; "Of Temperance," *W. C.*, fol. 67a, and *Gov.*, p. 257; "Of Liberality," *W. C.*, fol. 67a, and *Gov.*, p. 159; "Of Dancing," *W. C.*, fol. 200, and *Gov.*, pp. 290–293.

The traditional sayings of the philosophers as well as the borrowings from Elyot persist in the next volume of the group I have mentioned. I refer to *Wits Theater of the Little World* (1599), ascribed to Robert Allott.[39]

The organization of this book is strikingly similar to that of *Wits Commonwealth,* as is also the choice of topics. In some instances the excerpts are identical; but the points of view differ somewhat. There is in *Wits Theatre* the scheme, not rigidly adhered to, of giving bits of historical information. The result is that the compiler frequently cites Livy and other historians as authorities. There is, throughout, the tendency to epitomize, especially as to history. Notwithstanding the difference in point of view, *Wits Theatre* is obviously in the tradition, and the compiler makes generous use of the opinions of the philosophers.

Diogenes Laertius, directly or through an intermediary, contributes much matter to *Wits Theatre.* The name of Laertius as an authority is recurrent through the volume;[40] and in many instances sayings or stories are to be found in Laertius, the source ascribed. For example, the story of Diogenes's persistent coming to Antisthenes as his teacher (fol. 25a) is from Laertius's *Lives,* VI, 21; the story of the golden tripos that was passed from one sage to another until it was dedicated to Apollo (fol. 27a) is from Laertius, I, 28; and the discourse on the seven sages and on philosophy among the Persians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, etc. (fols. 27b–28a) is from Laertius, "Prologue" and I, 39. In addition to these verifiable references, the compiler frequently cites the name of the philosopher to whom a saying is ascribed—as

---

[39]The title-page runs as follows: *Wits Theatre of the Little World;* [a cut with the initial "N" in the lower left and "L" in the lower right hand corner; Latin sentence]. Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be solde at the Westdore of Paules. 1599. The N. L. is apparently for Nicholas Ling. It is interesting to observe that he is also connected with the publication of *Wits Commonwealth* and *Palladis Tamia, or The Second Part of Wits Commonwealth.*

[40]Cf. fols. 20b; 21a; 25a; 27b–27a; 29b; 30a; and numerous others. For my purpose in illustrating the history of the type of writing and of showing the close relation of Elyot to the tradition, it is not necessary in this paper to make the list exhaustive.

Agesilaus, Anacharsis, Bias, and Pittacus—without referring to Laertius or any other author of lives. *Wits Theatre* is thus in the tradition.

Once again this volume illustrates the practice, also, of drawing matter from the works of Sir Thomas Elyot. In several instances direct borrowings from *The Governour* are beyond question; in others, however, Allott's tendency to epitomize or paraphrase renders less certain the knowledge of his source. Of the verifiable borrowings, I give below three illustrations, and cite other passages which are demonstrably derived from *The Governour*.

Wits Theatre, fol. 100a.

. . . One daunced before Demetrius the Tyrant, and in his gestures and motions, showing the aduoutry of Mars and Venus, and their discovery by Phoebus, with Vulcan's intrapping them; where-with, contrary to his sullen disposition, he forced him to laugh and cry out, saying, O man, I doe not onely see but also heare what thou doost, and it seemeth to me that thou speakest with thy hands.[41]

Wits Theatre, fol. 130b.

Carneades the Phylosopher sayde, that the sonnes of noblemen learned nothing well but to ride; for whilst they learned letters, theyr Maisters flattered them, praysing every word they spake, and in wrastling, theyr Teachers and companions, submitting themselves, fell downe at their feete, but the horse not knowing who rideth him, if he sitte not surely, will cast him quickly.[42]

Wits Theatre, fol. 161b.

The fountaine of all excellent manners is maiestie, being the whole proportion and figure of noble estate, and properly a beauty or comliness in the countenance, language and gesture, which doth cast upon the beholders and hearers a fearfull reverence.[43]

---

[41]I have quoted only a part of the excerpt. *Wits Theatre* (fols. 100a–b) virtually incorporates Elyot's discussion of dancing, *Governour*, pp. 90–93. Cf. *Wits Commonwealth*, fol. 200, for epitome of the same passage.

[42]Cf. Elyot, *Bankett of Sapience*, fol. 19b, for the same passage in slightly different wording. *The Governour* is, however, the source for the excerpt in *Wits Theatre*. This is one of three successive paragraphs in *Wits Theatre* (fol. 130b) that derive from *The Governour* (190–192).

[43]Cf. *The Governour*, p. 121.

For the sake of economy, I will here cite in a note other passages that derive from *The Governour.*[44] The conclusion is that *Wits Theatre* is, like its immediate predecessors, another illustration of the diffusion through a popular medium of the sayings of the Philosophers and of the subject matter of Elyot's *Governour.*

Belvedére, or the Garden of the Muses (1600),[45] ascribed to John Bodenham, is a poetic, or at any rate a versified anthology. The nature of the subject matter and the organization, or arrangement, is concisely explained by the compiler, in his address to the Reader. He writes:

> Concerning the nature and qualitie of these excellent flowres, thou seest that they are most learned, grave and wittie sentences; each line being a several sentence, and none exceeding two lines at the uttermost. All which, being subjected under apt and proper heads, as arguments what is then dilated and spoken of: even so each head hath first his definition in a couplet sentence; then the single and double sentences by variation of letter do follow: and lastly, Similies and Examples in the same nature likewise, to conclude every Head or Argument handled. So let this serve to shew thee the whole intent of this work.

The similarity of arrangement to that in *Wits Commonwealth* and in *Wits Theatre* is at once apparent. The headings, the topics, the "grave and wittie sentences," are devices in *W.C.* The "Similies" and "Examples," though seeming innovations, had of course been employed by Palfreyman, Ling, and Allott. Baldwin, following Erasmus, had introduced a section of "Similies," or comparisons, in his *Morall Philosophy,* and Palfreyman in his augmentations had retained and enlarged this section. Many of these are distributed through *Wits Commonwealth;* and *Palladis Tamia,* or *Wits Treasury* (the second part of *W.C.*), is, of course, made up of comparisons. *Belvedére* simply brings together its similes under the designated headings. There is, then,

---

[44]The folio numbers below refer to *Wits Theatre* and the page numbers to *The Governour.* Cf. fol. 20b and p. 134; fol. 31b and p. 152; fol. 88b and p. 226; fol. 99a–b and pp. 89–90; fol. 129 and p. 191; fol. 132 and p. 51; fol. 161b–162a and pp. 121–122; fol. 261b and p. 267.

[45]All references are to a reprint of the original edition (1600) published by The Spenser Society, 1875.

no new element introduced—except a somewhat more formal arrangement.

In his words To the Reader, Bodenham gives a considerable list of well known contemporary lyric and dramatic poets including Daniel, Marlowe, Spenser, and Shakespeare, from whom he allegedly draws his verses. He fails to acknowledge *Wits Commonwealth* and other prose writings to which he is greatly indebted; nor does he anywhere, in the text proper, cite the source of his matter.

According to Charles Crawford, *Belvedére* "uses at least 800 passages lifted direct from *Wits Commonwealth* and very many others from the prose of Primaudàye's *French Academie,* John Lyly's *Euphues* and various plays, as well as from Sidney's *Arcadia.*" From *Wits Theatre,* says Crawford,[46] Bodenham takes 37 passages, and he draws also from *Wits Treasury.* Specific passages which derive from these works Crawford does not cite. Nor is it my purpose to cite many. A few, however, which *Belvedére* takes from *Wits Commonwealth* will serve to illustrate my point; namely, that *Belvedére* is somewhat of a piece with this group of compilations at the end of the century, and, like its immediate predecessors, popularizes the witty sayings and opinions of the philosophers and other wise or famous men.

A few of the many topics in *Belvedére* which correspond to topics in *Wits Commonwealth* and derive therefrom numerous lines and illustrations are the following: "Of Flatterie," "Of Friendship," "Of Glutonie," "Of Iustice," "Of Kings and Princes," "Of Patience," "Of Peace and Concord," "Of Pollicie," "Of Women." As a reading of the two texts together will show at once the close relationship of *Belvedére* to its predecessor, it seems unnecessary to quote here the parallels in detail.

Bodenham's use of names of the philosophers and statesmen, etc., is in the "Examples," which conclude the illustrations of each topic. Some of these are:

---

[46] *England's Parnassus* (Oxford, 1913), pp. xiv-xvi. See, also, Crawford's list of authors (pp. xv-xvi) to whom *Belvedére* is indebted.

Wise men (saith Bias) make not all their friends,
But have a speciall eye to flatterers (177).

Phocion, in desperate furie sav'd his friend,
Saying: *For this cause was I made thy friend* (98).

Men given to belly-service, Plato saith,
Deserve no better name than Brutish beasts (137).

Aristides so loved equitie,
That he of all men was sir named Iust (78).

Socrates wil'd good kings preferre their friends,
And shewe some kindnesse to their enemies (62).

When Socrates was councel'd to revenge,
Said: If an Asse strike, shall I strike againe? (101).

Phocion being askt; what fitted kingdoms best?
Replyed: A little warre, to win long peace (83).

Bias did much commend the government,
Where the chief heads were wise and polliticke (81).

Plato held women in a familie,
As needfull as a kingdomes governour (107).

Another book published in 1600, the date of the *Belvedére,* and indirectly carrying on the tradition of the wise sayings is *The Picture of a Perfit Commonwealth* (1600) by Thomas Floyd. As I have discussed this volume in a former paper,[47] I will only state that Floyd's book is based largely on Elyot's *Governour* and *Wits Commonwealth.* For the main outlines and much of the content, Floyd is indebted to *The Governour;* for definitions, quotations, and illustrations he derives from *Wits Commonwealth.*

Vertues Commonwealth (1603)[48] was written by Henry Crosse. Crosse may have got the suggestion for his title

---

[47]See University of Texas *Studies in English,* No. 11 (1931), pp. 32–41.

[48]The title-page runs: *Vertues Common-wealth:* or the *Highway to Honour* wherein is discovered that although by the disguised craft of this age, vice and hypocrisie may be concealed, yet by Tyme (the triall of truth) it is most plainly revealed. . . By Henry Crosse. London . . . 1603.

Compare with Crosse's book *The Countryman's Commonwealth* containing divers golden sentences (1633) by W. S. This compilation carries on the tradition of the sayings and precepts of the philosophers. Its main sources are *The Governour* and *Wits Commonwealth.*

from *Wits Commonwealth* or *The Picture of a Perfit Commonwealth*, immediate predecessors. There is, however, no evidence that *Vertues Commonwealth* derives from these. But its indebtedness to Elyot's *Governour* is easily demonstrable. On the topics of (1) justice, (2) temperance, (3) nobility, (4) liberality, Crosse adheres fairly closely in thought and phraseology to Elyot's discussions of these virtues in *The Governour*.[49]

Of three well-known writers[50] who carry on the tradition in the early seventeenth century, I shall discuss only Bacon. His work seems to represent the consummation of the tradition. In *Apophthegmes New and Old*—a collection of 280 as reprinted by Spedding and Ellis—Bacon has 156 of the old sayings or apophthegmes derived from ancient history or the sayings of the philosophers, and 124 of the new gathered from modern history or heard in conversation. By thus merging the old and the new, as in Camden and Jonson, Bacon gives new vitality to an ancient tradition.

In *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) the author mentions with respect apophthegmes as one of the appendices to Civil History. In *De Augmentis* (1623) he writes:

> Apophthegmes serve not for pleasure only and ornament, but also for action and business; being as one called them, *mucrones verborum* —speeches with a point or edge, whereby knots in business are pierced and severed. And as former occasions are continually recurring, that

---

The sections on temperance and justice are directly obligated to Elyot's book; those on justice, fortitude, etc., copy many sentences from *W. C.*

[49]In the references that follow the signatures refer to *Vertues Commonwealth*, the page numbers to *The Governour*. Compare sig. B3 and pp. 195–97; sig. C2 and pp. 257–58; sig. C4 and p. 128; sig. 14 and pp. 159–60.

[50]These are Francis Bacon, William Camden, and Ben Jonson. In his *Remaines* (1612) Camden collects from English historical documents apophthegmes or wise sayings of his countrymen. This is an interesting modification of the traditional practice. In the *Explorata or Discoveries* Jonson has in his own phrasing a few of the conventional sayings of the ancient philosophers; but he has many more that result from a wide range of reading in classical and modern literatures, and from his own reflection. These are brief pointed comments under such titles as *amor patriae, consilia, modestia*, etc.

which served once will often serve again, either produced as a man's own or cited as of ancient authority (ii, 12).

In his insistence upon the practical value of apophthegmes and especially in his use of them in his major writings Bacon goes beyond his contemporaries. In the *Advancement of Learning,* for example, he employs to point his discourse a great many of the apophthegmes[51] which appear in his collection, and also many which do not appear there. The idea of such procedure was not new. It had been advanced and to some extent practiced by Erasmus. To him Bacon is indebted for many of the apophthegmes. It is not singular therefore that Bacon should follow the precept and the practice of Erasmus in making the wise sayings render effective service in more extended discourse.

---

[51]The list that follows shows apophthegmes common to the collection and *The Advancement.* [Key to list: Ap. 25, AL 347 means that Apophthegm No. 25 of Bacon's collection appears also in *The Advancement,* p. 347, according to the Spedding and Ellis edition of the Works.] Ap. 25, AL 347; Ap. 32, AL 277; Ap. 86, AL 116; Ap. 95, AL 157; Ap. 98, AL 386; Ap. 101, AL 157; Ap. 114, AL 104; Ap. 122, AL 157; Ap. 123, AL 155; Ap. 135, AL 161; Ap. 160, AL 116; Ap. 161, AL 116; Ap. 172, AL 157–8; Ap. 182, AL 383; Ap. 186, AL 160; Ap. 222, AL 161; Ap. 263, AL 214.

The list is not exhaustive; the whole subject will be treated fully in another article.

SPENSER AND THE EARLIER PASTORAL ELEGY

BY T. P. HARRISON, JR.

Three of Spenser's poems belong wholly to the tradition of the pastoral elegy: *November* of the *Calender, Astrophel,* and the *Lay of Clorinda.*[1] Furthermore, the passage on Sidney in *The Ruines of Time* (281–343) and a considerable element in *Daphnaïda,* embodying the same pastoral images and language, have never, as far as I know, been studied in connection with the other poems. Taken together, these elegiac efforts amply disclose Spenser's acquaintance with the pastoral tradition and they illustrate, as fully as does the *Faerie Queene,* his imitative art.

Extant studies of the sources of Spenser's pastorals indicate that his acquaintance with the classical pastoral was due to French and Italian intermediaries rather than directly to Theocritus and Virgil themselves. From Marot comes most of the Lament for Dido, from Ronsard the *Astrophel.*[2] Some passages in these elegies are still assigned to classical models, however, and there has been no study of the passages from *The Ruines of Time,* the *Lay,* or the *Daphnaïda.* To examine the pastoral elements in all these poems—their sources and their common characteristics—is the aim of the present study. The attempt should throw light upon Spenser's methods of composition and emphasize the essential unity of his ideas about the pastoral elegy. The major conclusion is that although the two elegies *November* and *Astrophel* are drawn from particular poems of Marot and Ronsard, Spenser's sources generally are a common

---

[1]P. W. Long, "Spenseriana," *Modern Language Notes,* XXXI (1916), 79–82, and C. G. Osgood, "Doleful Lay of Clorinda," *Modern Language Notes,* XXXV (1920), 90–6, sufficiently establish Spenser's authorship of this poem, though recently W. L. Renwick, ed. *Complaints* (1928), 190, mentions it as by the Countess of Pembroke. The present study tends to confirm the opinion that the elegy is Spenser's.

[2]See "Spenser, Ronsard, and Bion," shortly to appear in *Modern Language Notes.*

pastoral tradition which so far as his elegies are concerned is of distinct continental origin.

For the major elements of Spenser's pastoralism, believed by Kerlin[3] and others to have been inspired by classical models, Professor M. Y. Hughes[4] has found intermediate sources. In regard to one passage, in *November*, he is inclined to share the opinions of Herford,[5] Erskine,[6] and Reissert,[7] namely, that the lines reveal a direct acquaintance with Moschus' *Lament for Bion*. At the expense of some digression, an account of this idea in literature before Spenser may be profitable.

Spenser's passage from the *November* is as follows (83–89):

> Whence is it, that the flouret of the field doth fade,
> And lyeth buryed long in winters bale;
> Yet soone as spring his mantle doth displaye,
> It floureth fresh, as it should never fayle?
> But thing on earth that is of most availe,
> As vertues braunch and beauties budde,
> Reliven not for any good.

As the acknowledged source of Spenser's poem the lines from Marot's *De Madame Loyse* (1531) were known to him:

> D'où vient cela qu'on veoit l'herbe sechante
> Retourner vive alors que l'esté vient,
> Et la personne au tumbeau trebuschante,
> Tant grande soit, jamais plus ne revient?

Moschus is the first to present in pastoral poetry this contrast between human life and the cyclic course of external nature; Lang beautifully translates the Greek passage (99–104):

---

[3]*Theocritus in English Literature* (1910), 16–20.

[4]"Spenser and the Greek Pastoral Triad," *Studies in Philology*, XX (1923), 184–215.

[5]Edition, *Calender* (1925), 185.

[6]*The Elizabethan Lyric* (1910), 111.

[7]"Bemerkungen über Spenser's Shepheards Calendar und die frühere Bukolik," *Anglia*, IX (1886), 205–224.

Ah me, when the mallows wither in the garden, and the green parsley, and the curled tendrils of the anise, on a later day they live again, and spring in another year; but we men, we, the great and mighty, or wise, when once we have died, in hollow earth we sleep, gone down into silence; a right long, and endless, and unawakening sleep.

Herford calls attention to the fact that Moschus and Spenser include the idea of the loss of human character and hence, with later critics, believes Spenser had recourse to the Greek.

In the first place, there is no good reason for denying to Spenser the originality involved in thus departing from Marot. Moreover, if other literary precedent were needed, the widespread popularity of this contrast in many forms and in both ancient and Renaissance thought, is not far to seek. In Hebraic thought the contrast is poignantly expressed, *Job*, 14:[8]

7. For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease.
8. Though the root thereof wax old in the earth, and the stock thereof die in the ground;
9. Yet through the scent of water it will bud, and bring forth boughs like a plant.
10. But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?

Reissert quotes three classical occurrences. The two lines from Tibullus inspired a passage by Sir Philip Sidney (I, 4, 35–36):

Crudeles divi! serpens novus exuat annos?
Formae non ullam fata dedere moram.

From this Ovid draws a similar contrasat (*Ars Am.*, III, 77–79):

Anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas
Nec faciunt cervos cornua jacta senes:
Nostra in auxilio fugiunt bona.

Possibly because this poetic idea found no place in Virgil's pastoral elegies, the Fifth and Tenth Eclogues, Renaissance

[8]As Renwick suggests, ed. *Calendar* (1930) 223, Spenser would, of course, know this passage.

pastoralists who did not follow Moschus chose to adopt the imagery of the famous lyric from Catullus (5, 4–6) :[9]

> Soles occidere et redire possunt:
> Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
> Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

Like Ovid, Catullus links this thought with the *carpe diem* philosophy. A Renaissance pastoralist who paraphrases the lines of both Moschus and Catullus is Sannazaro, who in Eclogue XI of the *Arcadia*[10] writes as follows:

> Ai, ai, seccan le spine, et poi che un poco
> Son state ad ricoprar l'antica forza,
> Ciascuna torna e nasce al proprio loco;
> Ma noi poi che una volta il Ciel ne sforza,
> Vento nè sol nè pioggia o primavera
> Basta ad tornarne in la terrena scorza.
> E'l sol, fuggendo anchor da mane ad sera,
> Ne mena i giorni e'l viver nostro inseme,
> Et lui ritorna pur come prima era.

A similar passage, probably derived from Sannazaro's, is to be found in the Latin pastoral elegy *Alcon* (1507), by Castiglione:

> Vomeribus succisa suis moriuntur in arvis
> Gramina, deinde iterum viridi de cespite surgunt;
> Rupta semel non deinde annectunt stamina Parcae.
> Adspice, decedens iam Sol declivis Olympo
> Occidit, et moriens accendit sidera caelo;
> Sed tamen occiduo cum laverit aequore currus,
> Idem iterum terras orienti luce reviset:
> Ast ubi nigra semel durae nos flumina mortis
> Lavere, et clausa est immitis ianua regni,
> Nulla unquam ad Superos ducit via: lumina somnus
> Urget perpetuus, tenebrisque involvitque amaris.

But both these passages lack the element which Spenser's has in common with Moschus, the tragedy in the loss of human character; they were, however, greatly influential in establishing a tradition which was freely varied. Among Italian pastoralists only one additional passage will be

[9]The lyric appeal to Lesbia is a *carmen*, not an elegy, as it is called by Reissert, Herford, and Hughes, any more than it is a pastoral.

[10]Here, as later, the edition of M. Scherillo (1888) is used.

quoted; this contains a suggestion of the tragic loss just mentioned. The passage occurs in the Second Eclogue by Alamanni,[11] whose sonnets and blank verse are known to have inspired the Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt:[12]

> Le liete rose, le fresche herbe e verdi,
> Le violette, i fior vermigli e'i persi
> Bene han la vita lor caduca e frale,
> Ma' l'aure dolci, i sol benigni e l'acque
> Rendon gli spirti lor che d'anno in anno
> Tornan piu che mai belli al nuovo aprile,
> *Ma (lassi) non virtù, regni, o thesoro*
> *A noi render porrian quest'alma luce;*

It is possible, of course, that this obvious imitation of Moschus' idea, especially in the last two lines, may have been known to Spenser.

Marot's lines appear to have been drawn from Sannazaro, whose influence is apparent elsewhere in the Frenchman's verse. One of Ronsard's *Odes*[13] betrays the marks of the passage from Catullus:

> La Lune est coustumiere
> De naistre tous les mois,
> Mais quand nostre lumiere
> Est eteinte une fois,
> Longuement sans veiller
> Il nous faut sommeiller.

Though Spenser frequently drew from Ronsard, these lines have no bearing upon the *November*. Hughes[14] quotes

---

[11]G. Norlin, "The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy," *American Journal of Philology*, XXXII (1911), 308, notes the occurrence of the convention here and in Tasso's *Corinna*.

[12]See Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England*, New York (1910), 115–120.

[13]Book II, 5. The lines are cited by Hughes, *op. cit.*, 211, in connection with the Spenser passage; Laumonier, *Oeuvres Complètes*, VII, 248, notes the influence here of Catullus.

[14]*Op. cit.*, 211. The lines quoted belong to a pastoral elegy in the *Arcadia*, ed. Feuillerat, I, 498–502. Hughes does not observe that, with certain original additions, the poem is based upon the passages from Ovid and Tibullus; cf. italicized lines.

a poem by Sidney which dwells upon the theme in question, and which bears a slight resemblance to Spenser's passage:

> Time, ever old and young, is still revolved
> Within itselfe, and never tasteth end:
> But mankind is for aye to naught resolved.
> *The filthy snake her aged coat can mend,*
> *And getting youth againe, in youth doth flourish;*
> But unto man age ever death doth send.
> The very trees with grafting we can cherish,
> So that we can long time produce their time:
> But man, which helpeth them, hapless must perish.
> Thus, thus, the mindes which over all doe climb,
> When they by yeares experience get best graces,
> Must finish then by death's detested crime.

The foregoing survey of the occurrence of the idea contrasting the mortality of man with the immortality of Nature is sufficient to illustrate its wide popularity in pastoral and lyric; the cold blasts of winter yet give promise of a spring not far behind, but man lowered into the grave sleeps an ever-during night. In pastoral the tradition begun in Moschus is continued in Shelley's *Adonais* and in Arnold's *Thyrsis;* and it is paraphrased in Wordworth's sonnet *Afterthought (Duddon).* The different imagery but identical thought of Catullus is a part of the tradition of that poet as he was translated and paraphrased in England by such men as Campion, Jonson, Carew, Crashawe, and others.[15] There the comparison is more widely employed in the spirit of Catullus than in that of the pastoral.

Of the other aspects of Spenser's elegies, three stand out conspicuously; their diffusion in his poems has never been examined and their sources are incompletely understood: the conventional elegiac address to shepherd lads and lasses, his use of the pathetic fallacy, and most important, his adoption of the "happy ending," or the change of mood near the close of the poem. It would be idle to attempt a study of the sources of these commonplace elements were it not that Theocritus, Marot, and Sannazaro have been

---

[15]See E. S. Duckett, *Catullus in English Poetry, Smith College Classical Studies* (1925), 30–41.

singled out as Spenser's absolute sources. Hence an examination of these conclusions is especially desirable in view of the interrelation of these poets and the general exclusion hitherto of Ronsard, who is more likely to be Spenser's source than the Greek or Italian. The purpose of this study is more to add to the number of possible sources than to identify specific ones; yet the extensive influence of Ronsard upon Spenser's other work makes more interesting similar passages in their pastorals.

For both addresses in *November* (63–64 and 77 ff.) Marot seems Spenser's likely model:

> Shepheards, that by your flocks on Kentish downes abyde,
> Waile ye this wofull waste of Natures warke:
> . . . . . .
> Sing now, ye shepheards daughters, sing no moe
> The songs that Colin made in her prayse,
> But into weeping turne your wanton layes:

Marot's corresponding lines are as follows, Spenser's "shepheards daughters" replacing "les belles," Louise's maids of honor:[16]

> Pleurons, bergers, Nature nous dispense:
> . . . . . .
> Or maintenant ne font plus rien les belles,
> Sinon ruysseaux de larmes et de pleurs.
> Converty ont leurs danses en douleurs.

Spenser again employs the convention in the *Lay* (37 ff.):

> Breake now your gyrlonds, O ye shepheards lasses,
> . . . . . .
> Ne ever sing the love-layes which he made;
> . . . . . .
> Your mery glee is now laid all abed.

And in *Daphnaïda* (316 ff.) Marot seems to be adapted:

> But now, ye shepheard lasses, who shall lead
> Your wandring troupes, or sing your virelayes?
> Or who shall dight your bowres, sith she is dead
> . . . . . .
> And into plaints convert your joyous playes,

[16]Renwick, ed. *Calendar*, freely quotes parallels from Marot. The present purpose is to allude only to those passages in Spenser which suggest also other sources. Jannet's edition of Marot, II, is used.

Marot recites the accomplishments of his dead shepherdess:

> Tant bien y sceut au lys rendre les roses
> Tant bien y sceut bonnes herbes semer, etc.

This in *November,* as it has been often noticed, Spenser adapts in his account of the homely activities of Dido in weaving "colourd chaplets" for Lobbin and in entertaining shepherds. Besides the commonplace appeal in the opening lines in *Astrophel,* the convention takes the form of praise of Sidney's poetic attainments (31 ff.) :[17]

> For he could pipe, and daunce, and caroll sweet,
> Emongst the shepheards in their shearing feast;
> . . . . . .
> And layes of love he also could compose:

The Ruines of Time repeats the convention (327–328) :

> And shepheards leave their lambs unto mischaunce,
> To runne thy shrill Arcadian pipe to heare.

Only once in his elegies does Spenser approach the direct classical mode of address; accordingly the passage has been accepted as directly inspired by Theocritus. The passage from *Astrophel* (127–132) is obviously not in the classical manner; even if it were, intermediate sources could account for Spenser's employment of it:

> Ah! where were ye this while, his shepheard peares,
> To whom alive was nought so deare as hee?
> And ye, faire mayds, the matches of his yeares,
> Which in his grace did boast you most to bee?
> Ah! where were ye, when he of you had need,
> To stop his wound, that wondrously did bleed?

This passage Kerlin refers to Theocritus 1. 66–69, where the *nymphs* are reproached for not *preventing the death* of Daphnis. Virgil's direct imitation (10. 9–12)[18] would be the more likely source except for the manifold Renaissance

---

[17]Kerlin, *op. cit.,* 19, cites Theocritus. Beginning with Moschus, the association of the dead shepherd with poetic activity became an accepted convention.

[18]Renwick, ed. *Daphnaïda and Other Poems* (1929), 192, cites only this passage.

paraphrases; and these are of Virgil rather than Theocritus. The Second Eclogue of Baïf, a close imitation of Virgil 10, will serve as an example:[19]

> Nymphes, quel mont lointain, quelle forest ombreuse,
> Quel fleuve, quel rocher, quelle caverne creuse
> Vos detint?

The meaning as well as the context of Spenser's lines removes them almost beyond recognition from their ultimate source.

To discuss now Spenser's use of the pathetic fallacy, certain turns of thought and language seem to indicate a conscious or unconscious imitation not only of Marot but of his predecessor Sannazaro and his follower Ronsard. The close relationship of these three pastoralists makes it impossible to determine Spenser's exact model; but the fact of their relationship warrants a study of this aspect of their poetry, which of course finds place also in pastoral types other than the elegy. The first passage from *November* is as follows (67–69):

> The sonne of all the world is dimme and darke:
> The earth now lacks her wonted light,
> And all we dwell in deadly night.

Once again this phase of the convention is found, in *Daphnaïda* (482–483):

> Since whose departure, day is turnd to night,
> And night without a Venus starre is found.

The corresponding line from Marot is a possible source:

> Le cler soleil chaleur plus ne rendit.

This and other conventions are employed also in Ronsard's Eclogue I, which includes an elegy on the death of Henry II,[20]

---

[19]See ed. of Marty-Laveaux, III, 11. Norlin, *op. cit.*, 302, cites these lines as echoes of Virgil. He quotes also Alamanni, Garcilaso, and the slight suggestion in Marot. Mustard, "Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets," *American Journal of Philology*, XXX (1909), 248, cites a similar passage from Antonio Ferreira.

[20]See Laumonier, *op. cit.*, III, 370–2. The poem is generally modeled upon Virgil's Fifth, but W. H. Storer, *Virgil and Ronsard*, Paris (1923), 84–85, disregards all intermediate influences.

and in Eclogue V in Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* the lament of Ergasto, which extensively influenced the French poem:[21]

Le Soleil s'en-nua pour ne voir telle mort,
Et d'un crespe rouillé cacha sa teste blonde.

And the *Arcadia:*

E'l sol più giorni non mostrò suo raggi.

November, following Marot, presents another passage which should be studied in connection with similar ones from *Daphnaïda* and the *Lay.* The lines from the *Calender* are as follows (125 ff.):

The faded lockes fall from the loftie oke,
The flouds do gaspe, for dryed is theyr sourse,
And flouds of teares flowe in theyr stead perforse.
The mantled medowes mourne,
Theyr sondry colours tourne.
The heavens doe melt in teares without remorse.

Marot's lines are these:

Feuilles et fruictz des arbres abbatirent;
Du manteau vert les prez se deuestirent;
Le ciel obscur larmes en respandit.
. . . . . .
Terre en ce temps deuint nue et debile;
Plusieurs ruysseaux tous à sec demourerent; etc.

Ronsard's use of the convention is less pronounced:

Toutes choses çà bas pleuroient en desconfort:
. . . . . .
Les Antres l'ont pleuré, les rochers et les bois:
. . . . . .
Les herbes par sa mort perdirent leur verdure.

And Torraca[22] shows that the source of both Marot and Ronsard is Sannazaro's Fifth Eclogue:

---

[21]See F. Torraca, *Gl'Imitatori Stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro,* Rome, 1882, 63. P. Kuhn, "L'Influence Neo-Latine dans les Églogues de Ronsard," *Revue d'Histoire Litt.,* (1914), 309–325, discloses Ronsard's acquaintance with the two eclogues of Navagero. Kuhn has overlooked the earlier study of Professor Mustard, *op. cit.* (1909), which includes a more thorough study of this subject.

[22]*Op. cit.,* 63 and 66.

Pianser le sante Dive
La tua spietata morte:
I fiumi il sanno e le spelunch' e y faggi;
Pianser le verdi rive,
L'herbe pallide et smorte,

For one feature of *November* Reissert cites Virgil 5. 25–26[23] and Marot. Spenser's lines are these (133–136):

The feeble flocks in field refuse their former foode,
And hang theyr heads, as they would learne to weepe:
The beasts in forest wayle as they were woode,
Except the wolves, that chase the wandring sheepe.

The parallel lines in Marot are as follows:

Dont sont trouppeau, qui plaindre l'entendit,
Laissa le paistre et se print à besler.
. . . . . .
Bestes de proye et bestes de pasture,
Tous animaulx Loyse regretterent,
Excepté loups de mauvaise nature.

Ronsard presents a similar picture:

Noz troupeaux prevoyans quelque futur danger
Languissoient par les champs sans boire ny manger:
Et béslans et crians et tapis contre terre
Gisoient comme frappez de l'esclat du tonnerre.

Torraca[24] quotes Sannazaro's modification of Virgil's lines:

Nè gli animal selvaggi
Usciron in algun prato,
Nè greggi andar per monti,
Nè gustaro herbe o fonti:
Tanto dolse ad ciaschun l'acerbo fato.

As regards this convention it remains to quote passages from the *Lay* and *Daphnaïda*.[25] The first poem is as sparing

---

[23]*Op. cit.*, 215: "nulla neque amnem
Libavit quadrupes, nec graminis attigit herbam."

[24]*Op. cit.*, 63.

[25]Corresponding structurally to Chaucer's riddle of the chess game (see Nadal, "Spenser's *Daphnaïda* and Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIII, 1908), *Daphnaïda* includes the story of Alcyon's capture and taming of a beautiful lioness (99–147). It seems likely that Ronsard's similar

in the use of the pathetic fallacy as the second is lavish. The passage from the *Lay* is entirely commonplace (25–28):

> Woods, hills, and rivers now are desolate,
> Sith he is gone the which them all did grace:
> And all the fields do waile their widow state,
> Sith death their fairest flowre did late deface.

This is a mere repetition of the imagery from *November*. In *Daphnaïda*, however, Spenser indulges more freely in that phase of the convention which involves a reversal of Nature's course (330–336):

> Let birds be silent on the naked spray,
> And shady woods resound with dreadfull yells;
> Let streaming floods their hastie courses stay,
> And parching drougth drie up the christall wells;
> Let th'earth be barren, and bring foorth no flowres,
> And th'ayre be fild with noyse of dolefull knells,
> And wandring spirits walke untimely howres.

The poem continues as Nature is bidden to bring forth monsters and the shepherd's flock to feed on poison weeds. Torraca[26] quotes Eclogue XI from Sannazaro:

> Piangi, colle sacrato, opaco et fosco;
> Et voi, cave spelunche, et grotte oscure,
> Ululando venite ad pianger nosco.
> . . . . . .
> Lacrimate voi, fiumi ignudi et cassi
> D'ogni dolcezza; et voi, fontane et rivi,
> Fermate il corso et ritenete i passi.[27]
> Et tu, che fra le selve occolta vivi,
> Echo mesta, rispondi ale parole, . . .
> Piangete, valli abandonate et sole;

---

story of the *stag* in Eclogue I (see Laumonier, *op. cit.*, 360) may have offered Spenser definite hints. Orleantin, who tells the story, wagers the stag, "un cerf"; Torraca, *op. cit.*, 60–1, shows that Ronsard's passage is drawn from Sannazaro, where Spenser may have seen it. Renwick, in his edition of Spenser's poem, offers no suggestion as to the source of the passage.

[26]*Op. cit.*, 75. Renwick, ed. *Daphnaïda*, 178, terming the motive "usual and Petrarchan," cites Bembo, *Rime*.

[27]This line Spenser thus virtually translates.

Et tu, terra, depingi nel tuo manto
I gigli oscuri et nere le viole.[28]

Spenser was undoubtedly familiar with the *Arcadia,* and this passage offers the nearest parallel to that from the *Daphnaïda.* If other parallels were lacking, however, it would be difficult to prove his indebtedness from this alone. Of the elegiac conventions the pathetic fallacy almost alone finds place in other pastoral types, outside the scope of this study.

The final aspect of Spenser's elegies, the description of celestial joys, deserves ample consideration. Both *Astrophel* and *Daphnaïda* lack this element. In the latter Spenser's medieval treatment of his subject, dictated by his Chaucerian model, completely overshadows the slight pastoral infusion.[29] In *Astrophel* a somewhat similar reason prevents the inclusion of the usual apotheosis; namely, Spenser, having adopted the Adonis motif as the major theme, which he varies only slightly, follows Ronsard's version of Bion through to its logical climax. As intrinsic to *Astrophel* the joyful motif would have been entirely inappropriate. Accordingly, in order perhaps to provide his subject with the necessary adjunct, Spenser ends one elegy only straightway to begin another; and the fiction of a different author is set up by his attributing the *Lay* to the Countess of Pembroke and beginning it with a large initial after these lines:

---

[28]Cf. Ronsard: "Les roses et les liz prindrent noire teinture," and Marot: "Que le beau lys en print noire taincture."

[29]Besides the pastoral the *Daphnaïda* emphasizes two other themes which are outside the scope of direct imitation of Chaucer: Mutability, common to much of Sp's early poetry, and Despair. The identity of the theme of despair as treated here and in the *Faerie Queene,* I, ix, has never been remarked. Renwick, ed. of poem, suggests only "vague biblical reminiscence" and notes that the *Complaints* carry a similar theme. But Spenser is more explicitly repeating ideas, images, and phrases from the argument of Despair. Cf. *Daph.* 43–44 and *F. Q.* I, ix, 35.4–5; 85–86 and 39.1–2; 253–257 and 40.7–9; 274–282 and 39.1–9; 358–364 and 43.1–2.

But first his sister, that Clorinda hight,
. . . . . began this dolefull lay.
Which, least I marre the sweetnesse of the vearse,
In sort as she it sung I will rehearse.

P. W. Long[30] adduces ample reasons for considering Spenser the author of the *Lay,* and the foregoing consideration tends to confirm this opinion. One third of the *Lay,* certainly the best third, is given over to the theme of joy; the rest of the poem is of negligible interest. Only in this last part is the monotony relieved by passages of high lyric value, which link the poem with the close of *November.* Conventional though they are, the peculiarly Spenserian quality of the lines and their Platonic cast are sufficient to mark the poem Spenser's; and a comparison of *The Ruines of Time,* the *Lay,* and *November* emphasizes this conclusion.

The passage from the *Calender* begins:

Cease now, my Muse, now cease thy sorrowes sourse.

The change in key is less effective in Spenser than in Marot, where it is suddenly introduced:[31]

Non, taisez vous, c'est assez deploré
Elle est aux champs Elisiens receue.

In the *Lay:*

Ah, no! it is not dead, ne can it die.
But lives for aie in blissfull Paradise.

From Marot Spenser obtained the idea of the pagan Elysian fields, but there is evidence that he had recourse to the imagery of Sannazaro's Eclogue V, the lament of Ergasto,[32] and perhaps to Ronsard's elegy on Henry II, where the

[30]*Op. cit.*

[31]The point is made by Herford, ed. *Calender,* 187.

[32]Torraca, *op. cit.,* 73, expresses his belief that for some lines not found in Marot Spenser turns to the *Arcadia.* He also, 67, points out the details which Marot derives from the *Arcadia.* Reissert's opinion, *op. cit.,* 214, that at the end Spenser follows Virgil more closely than Marot, is questionable, as neither Sannazaro nor Ronsard, nearer sources, are taken into account. From Virgil's Fifth Eclogue sprang, of course, the tradition of the apotheosis.

apotheosis becomes most elaborate. In the following quotations only the most important features of the close will be considered.

Spenser's lines from *November* are continued (175 ff.):

She raignes a goddesse now emong the saintes,
. . . . . .
And is enstalled nowe in heavens hight.
I see thee, blessed soule, I see
Walke in Elisian fieldes so free.
. . . . . .
Might I once come to thee! O that I might!

Sannazaro's passage approaches Spenser's, as Marot's does not:

Alma beata et bella,
Che da'ligami sciolta
Nuda salisti ney superni chiostri,
Ove con la tua stella
Ti godi insieme accolta;
Et lieta ivi, schernendo y pensier nostri,
Quasi un bel sol ti mostri
Tra li più chiari spirti;
Et sotto le tue piante
Vedi le stelle errante,
Et tra pure fontane et sacri mirti
Pasci celesti greggi,
Et le mundane cure indi dispreggi.

This Virgilian imitation inspired the following passage from Ronsard:

O belle ame gentille au Ciel la plus haussée,
Qui te mocques de nous et de nostre pensée,
Et des apas mondains qui ne nous font sentir
Apres le vain plaisir sinon le repentir,
Ainsi qu'un beau Soleil entre les belles ames
Environné d'esclairs, de rayons et de flames
Tu reluis dans le Ciel, et loin de toute peur
Fait Ange, tu te ris de ce monde trompeur.

Marot presents two or three parallel lines:

Hors des beaulx champs et nayfves esploré.
. . . . . .
En ces beaulx champs et nayfves maisons
Loyse vit, sans peur, peine ou mesaise;
Et nous ça bas, pleins d'humaines raisons,
Sommes marrys (ce semble) de son aise.

It is clear that Spenser follows Ronsard or Sannazaro rather than Marot. The point becomes more certain in view of a passage from *The Ruines of Time* (302–308), on the death of Sidney:

> O noble spirite, live there ever blessed,
> The worlds late wonder, and the heavens new joy,
> Live ever there, and leave me here distressed
> With mortall cares, and cumbrous worlds anoy.
> But where thou dost that happiness enjoy,
> Bid me, O bid me quicklie come to thee,
> That happie there I maie thee alwaies see.

To the two passages quoted from Spenser are to be added the concluding lines of the *Lay* (91–96):

> But live thou there, still happie, happie spirit,
> And give us leave thee here thus to lament:
> Not thee that doest thy heavens joy inherit,
> But our owne selves that here in dole are drent.
> Thus do we weep and waile, and wear our eies,
> Mourning in others our owne miseries.

These quotations are sufficient, it would seem, to show Spenser's frequent independence of Marot at this point, and to indicate the unity of his poetic laments for his subjects. His actual descriptions of their celestial joys point to the same conclusion.

In comparison with Marot the *November* is meagre in this description (187 ff.):

> No daunger there the shepheard can astert:
> Fayre fieldes and pleasaunt layes there bene,
> The fieldes ay fresh, the grasse ay greene:
> . . . . . .
> There lives shee with the blessed gods in blisse,
> There drincks she nectar with ambrosia mixt,
> And joyes enjoyes that mortall men doe misse.
> The honor now of highest gods she is.

Marot's description, drawn partly from Sannazaro, is most elaborate:

> Là où elle est n'y a rien defloré;
> Jamais le jour et les plaisirs n'y meurent;
> Jamais n'y meurt le vert bien coloré
> Ne ceulx avec qui là dedans demeurent.
> . . . . . .

Là ne veoit rien qui en rien luy desplaise;
Là mange fruicts d'inestimable prix;
Là boyt liqueur qui toute soif appaise;
Là congnoistra mille nobles esprits.
. . . . . .
Et mille oyseaulx y font joye immortelle,

Some features of this, the immortality of those in heaven and others, are represented in the *Lay* (73 ff.):

There thousand birds, all of celestiall brood,
To him do sweetly caroll day and night;
. . . . . .
There liveth he in everlasting blis,
Sweet spirit, never fearing more to die:
Ne dreading harme from any foes of his, etc.

Ronsard's elegy follows the example of Marot:

Où tu es, le Printemps ne perd point sa verdure,
L'orage n'y est point, le chaud ny la froidure,
Mais un air pur et net, et le Soleil au soir
Comme icy ne se laisse en la marine choir.[33]

Two passages from Spenser, however, are reminiscent of a passage from Sannazaro which was not borrowed by Marot or Ronsard. The first is from *The Ruines of Time* (332–336):

Whiles thou now in Elisian fields so free,
With Orpheus, and with Linus, and the choice
Of all that ever did in rimes rejoyce,
Conversest, and doost heare their heavenlie layes,
And they heare thine, and thine doo better praise.[34]

The passage from the *Lay* is peculiarly Spenserian in diction (69–72):

Where like a new-borne babe it soft doth lie,
In bed of lillies wrapt in tender wise,
And compast all about with roses sweet,
And daintie violets from head to feet.

---

[33] Kuhn, *op. cit.*, 317, compares with this a passage from Eclogue IV by Boccaccio. For Spenser's passage Marot is the more likely source, however.

[34] Renwick, ed. *Complaints*, 196, believes Spenser has in mind here two Virgilian passages: *Aeneid, VI*, 637–678, and *Eclogue* 4, 55–57.

Sannazaro's picture suggests both passages from Spenser; the lines are from Eclogue V again:

> Tal fra suavi odori
> Dolce cantando all'ombra
> Tra Daphni et Melibeo[35]
> Siede il nostro Androgeo,
> Et di rara dolcezza il cielo ingombra,
> Temprando gli elementi
> Col suon di novi inusitati accenta.

For Ronsard, as for other members of the Pléiade, the Italian pastoralists were entirely the equals of Theocritus or Virgil and hence served with the classics as prime models. Because of Spenser's copious draughts from both French and Italians the extent of his acquaintance with classical writers is still undetermined. E. K. frequently and eagerly refers the reader directly to classical sources; yet in his prefatory letter to Harvey he names "Marot, Sanazarus, and also divers other excellent both Italian and French Poetes, whose foting this Author every where followeth." The statement is significant, and it gives purpose and direction to the study of Spenser's sources, which is so important a factor in the understanding of his poetry. This paper has accomplished its aim if it has defined further Spenser's debt to the continental pastoral elegy and, incidentally, disclosed something of unity in Spenser's conceptions of elegiac matter.

---

[35]These stand for Theocritus and Virgil.

SPENSER AND SHELLEY'S "ADONAIS"

By T. P. Harrison, Jr.

In none of the great pastoral elegies are the basic sources as clear as in the *Adonais* of Shelley. The classic laments of Bion for Adonis and of Moschus for Bion largely determine the structure of the elaborate English poem and direct the course of its thought. This relationship has been frequently and amply pointed out and the transforming genius of Shelley eloquently praised by Symonds, Dowden, Woodberry, and others. The poem itself, its mottoes from Moschus and Plato, the partial translation once made from both Bion and Moschus, these evidence Shelley's enthusiastic interest in the classic elegy and indicate its pervasive influence upon his lament for Keats.

Yet this approach, correct as it is, has led perhaps to an overstatement of the classic elements in *Adonais* and a neglect of other shaping influences. This paper is concerned with Shelley's debt to Spenser. Naturally the language of pastoral elegy has a sameness which accrues not only from its inevitable habit of artificial metaphor but from the fact that elegiac poets worthy of the name have turned to the same ancient writers who largely standardized the genre. Hence the uncertainty in the task of defining sources, especially intermediate ones, for what may seem to be direct indebtedness may easily be coincidence. Yet without emphasizing the significance of any one parallel, the cumulative effect of the following comparison argues that, consciously or otherwise, Shelley was deeply impressed by the elegiac poems of Spenser.[1]

---

[1]Shelley's fondness for Spenser is shown in his letters (see A. Droop, *Die Belesenheit Percy Bysshe Shelley's* (1906), 46–47); and the body of his poetry frequently reflects the imagery and poetic habits of his predecessor (see T. Böhme, *Spensers Literarisches Nachleben bis zu Shelley* (1911), 313–344).

The best analysis of the sources of *Adonais* is that by Richard Ackermann.[2] His evidence for Spenserian influence, however, is incomplete and hence unconvincing. In regard to one parallel in this monograph Professor Woodberry says: "The resemblance is great; and so, in the case of other passages from this lament [*November*], the parallelism is clear; but I do not believe that the poem of Spenser was in Shelley's mind except secondarily through Milton's echoes of it in *Lycidas*."[3] This is a questionable attitude. For, with the exception of the consolation—to be considered—Shelley makes no use of the two major aspects of pastoral elegy which Milton derived explicitly from Spenser:[4] the digression upon the clergy was suggested possibly by the ecclesiastical eclogues, and Milton's flower passage resembles that in *April*. Milton had precedent in Spenser for two other devices, the introduction of allusions to himself and the final change in mood; but in these the resemblance is due more to conventional practice than to direct dependence. Still more important, the major Spenserian parallels with Shelley are found, not in the *Calender*, but in *Astrophel*, the lament for Sidney.

Adonais and *Astrophel* are structurally alike in that they both not only follow the theme of Bion's *Lament for Adonis* but subjoin that of consolation.[5] In this respect these two elegies are, so far as I know, unique. Pastoralists have not attempted to combine the two themes because they are not

---

[2]*Quellen, Vorbilder, Stoffe zu Shelley's Poetischen Werken* (1890), 29–43. The editions by Ackermann, *Shelley's Epipsychidion und Adonais* (1900), by G. E. Woodberry, *Complete Poetical Works* (1901), and by C. D. Locock, *The Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1911), II, carry the fullest record of sources. References to Ackermann are to his monograph, not his edition.

[3]*Op. cit.*, 635. A conclusion probably derived from Ackermann, who overstates Milton's debt to Spenser.

[4]For full account of this relationship, see J. H. Hanford, "The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's *Lycidas*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXV (1910), 441–442.

[5]As an integral part of pastoral elegy this element is introduced first in Virgil's Fifth Eclogue, in the deification of Julius Caesar. Though Shelley translated a fragment of Virgil's other elegy, the Tenth Eclogue, *Adonais* owes nothing directly to Virgil.

in themselves accordant. Bion's poem, which incidentally contains no pastoral features, is largely concerned with Venus' mourning for the dead Adonis. At the end the poet announces:

> Cease, Cytherea, from thy lamentations, today refrain from thy dirges. Thou must again bewail him, again must weep for him another year.[6]

This harmonizes with the myth and the mood of the Adonis festival, celebrated in Theocritus 15. Among other changes Ovid[7] emphasizes the story of the metamorphosis of Adonis' blood to a flower, and Renaissance poets, Ronsard in particular, follow both Bion and Ovid.

Spenser's *Astrophel* is adapted mainly from Ronsard.[8] But Spenser's Stella, corresponding to Venus, dies, too, and both lovers are changed into a flower "that is both red and blew." Separated from *Astrophel* by a large initial only, a second elegy without title immediately follows. Spenser implies that this poem, now known as the *Lay of Clorinda*, was written by the Countess of Pembroke, Sidney's sister, "that Clorinda hight;" but Spenser's authorship is now accepted.[9] In other words, the device of separate authorship may well have been employed to join together two elegies which otherwise would have been inharmonious. For after a passage of conventional lament the *Lay* turns to the theme of joy, elaborate and beautiful. The entire piece, *Astrophel* and the *Lay*, thus gains a single effect, despite the awkward but entirely characteristic device of separating the two themes.

With the subsequent parallels in mind, the suggestion, then, may not be far-fetched that Shelley's idea of combining the two themes mentioned may have come from Spenser.

---

[6]Lang's translation.

[7]*Metamorphoses*, X. 728–739.

[8]Cf. "Spenser, Ronsard, and Bion," to be published shortly in *Modern Language Notes*.

[9]Cf. "Spenser and the Earlier Pastoral Elegy," *supra*.

The *Adonais* is, in Shelley's words, "a highly wrought *piece of art*," and Ackermann's study[10] indicates with what care and deliberation the poet worked. Through stanza xxxvii he depends largely upon Bion and, to some extent, upon Moschus. From this point to the end, the seventeen stanzas which make the transition from the theme of sorrow and death to that of joy and immortality, Shelley frees himself from the earlier influences.

The Spenserian elements may be thus summarized. In the first place, *Adonais* seems to echo lines from *Astrophel* which Spenser drew at second hand from Bion. Next, Shelley may have recollected the peculiar turn which Spenser gives, in *November*, to a famous passage tracing back ultimately to Moschus. Finally, the consolation and the method by which it is introduced, both strongly suggest the *Adonais*. In stating parallels it will be desirable, however, to follow the chronology of the later poem. The scattered occurrence of the Spenserian passages suggests, not an orderly resort to Spenser, but an imitation, which may have been largely unconscious.

Apparently there has been no attempt to trace the familiar metaphor which in Shelley gains poignant expression, *Adonais*, 52–54:

> The bloom, whose petals nipped before they blew
> Died on the promise of the fruit, is waste;
> The broken lily lies—the storm is overpast.

The figure is as natural as elsewhere it is conventional, and manifold illustrations might be found. In the *Lay of Clorinda* (31–34) it is employed by the poet who mourns Sidney:[11]

---

[10]Cf. his structural outline, *op. cit.*, 30–31.

[11]Would not Shelley's express admiration for Sidney increase his interest in the elegies on Sir Philip's death? Droop, *op. cit.*, 47–48, quotes a letter to Mary Gisborne in which Shelley refers to "Shakespeare, Sidney, Spenser, and the rest Who made our land an island of the blest." *Adonais* itself (401–403) eloquently characterizes Sidney; and the relationship between the essays on poetry of Sidney and Shelley is a commonplace.

What cruell hand of cursed foe unknowne[12]
Hath cropt the stalk which bore so faire a flowre?
Untimely cropt, before it well were growne,
And cleane defaced in untimely howre.

With Moschus (99–104) begins the tradition in pastoral elegy of contrasting the cycle of the revolving year with the mortality of human life. Nearly every elegy makes use of this contrast, Milton's being a notable exception. Shelley expands the idea in three successive stanzas (xviii–xx), his undoubted model being the famous Greek passage. It is interesting to observe, however, one unusual point in common between the passages in Shelley and in Spenser: each emphasizes the loss in death of human character. After the description of the renewal of Nature in her various forms, the passage ends (*Adonais*, 177):

Nought we know, dies. Shall that alone which knows
Be as a sword, etc.

The lines from *November* conclude with a similar stress (87–89):

But thing on earth that is of most availe,
As vertues braunch and beauties budde,
Reliven not for any good.

Spenser's elegy is drawn from Marot, yet this passage has convinced most critics of Spenser's acquaintance with Moschus.[13]

Urania sadly reproaches her dead Adonais for his rash hunting. The suggestion comes obviously from Bion[14] (*Adonais*, 236–238):

Why didst thou leave the trodden paths of men
Too soon, and with weak hands though mighty heart
Dare the unpastured dragon in his den?

---

[12]This line serves to link the themes of the *Lay* and *Astrophel*. Ackermann, who briefly dismisses the two poems, quotes it as an echo of Moschus.

[13]For the extensive use of this contrast, see "Spenser and the Earlier Pastoral Elegy," *supra*, 37–41.

[14]60–61: "For why, ah overbold, didst thou follow the chase, and being so fair, why wert thou thus overhardy to fight with beasts?" (Lang's translation).

Spenser's *Astrophel* thus describes an actual hunt (91–94):

> It fortuned, as he that perilous game
> In forreine soil pursued far away,
> Into a forest wide and waste he came,
> Where store he heard to be of salvage pray.

The two English elegies are the more closely related in the similar accounts of the hunting of Astrophel and that, not of Keats but of Byron, in Shelley's reference to *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.* The herded wolves, the obscene ravens, the vultures (247–251),

> Who feed where Desolation first has fed,
> And whose wings rain contagion;—how they fled,[15]
> When, like Apollo, from his golden bow
> The Pythian of the age one arrow sped[16]
> And smiled!

By a similar allegorical picture Spenser describes Sidney's exploits in the Netherlands (97–101):

> There his welwoven toyles and subtil traines
> He laid the brutish nation to enwrap:
> So well he wrought with practise and with paines,
> That he of them great troups did soon entrap.
> Full happie man (misweening much) was hee.

The significance of the two passages from Spenser appears in that, with the exception of two lines, they have no counterpart in Bion.

As the lament of Urania is concluded (261), Shelley introduces "the mountain shepherds"—Byron, Moore, himself, Hunt. This varies the usual habit in which pastoral deities

---

[15]Ackermann cites *Lycidas:* "the grim wolf" and "foul contagion spread," suggested from Spenser's *S. C.* Rossetti finds similar imagery in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta.*

[16]The figure of the soaring bird shot at with arrows was earlier used by Shelley in a letter to Byron; see Fred L. Jones, "*Adonais:* The Source of XXVII–XXVIII," *Modern Language Notes,* XLVI (1931), 236–239.

are invoked.[17] For Shelley's innovation Ackermann[18] suggests Moschus, who introduces, besides, the mourning of nature and of cities famed for their poets. Spenser reproaches the friends of Astrophel for their absence from the wounded shepherd (127–128):

> Ah! where were ye this while, his shepheard peares,
> To whom alive was nought so deare as hee?

And later (200 ff.), among those who come to mourn are,

> The shepheards all which loved him full deare.

Perhaps Shelley remembered this device which in Spenser is used to prepare for the formal laments of these shepherds, the other elegies in the volume.

Beginning with stanza xxxviii, which makes the transition to the note of joy and in the succeeding stanzas expressing the moods of consolation, the Spenserian echoes become more pronounced. In regard to *November* (163–171) Professor Herford[19] has noted a peculiarity in Spenser's manipulation of his French source. Comparing Spenser with Marot, Milton, and Shelley, he adds: "The transition is less beautiful in Spenser, chiefly because it is less sudden. He gives the reason first, and the appeal based upon it afterwards, a procedure which has logic but not poetry on its side." But without the poetic loss Shelley does precisely the same thing: stanza xxxviii is devoted to the reason for consolation; the following stanza begins,

> Peace, peace! he is not dead, he doth not sleep—[20]

---

[17] A device which, of course, Shelley employs earlier in what seems to be his only explicit imitation of *Lycidas;* Ackermann and Woodberry compare *Adon.*, 10–11 and *Lyc.*, 50–51. Rossetti notes the sources of Milton's lines in Theocritus 1.66 and Virgil 10.9–10, both of which Shelley knew.

[18] *Op. cit.*, 35.

[19] In his edition of the *Shepheards Calendar* (1925), 187.

[20] With this line Ackermann compares *Lycidas*, 165–166:

> Weep no more, woeful shepherds, weep no more,
> For Lycidas, your sorrow, is not dead.

He suggests also Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, 202–207, and Spenser's *Lay*, 67 (the only line quoted from this poem):

> Ah, no! it is not dead, ne can it die.

Locock, *op. cit.*, 464, wisely accepts no one source.

Furthermore there are marked verbal parallels with Spenser in the two stanzas referred to and in adjacent ones. In these both poets amplify two themes: first, that mourning is subjective, it is grievous only to him who in another's fate weeps his own; and second, the Platonic idea that the unbodied soul, freed from earthly travail, has rejoined its Source. Neither idea is peculiar to the two elegies being considered; the similar phraseology alone gives weight to the comparison. The lines from *Adonais*[21] occur irregularly:

> Who in another's fate now wept his own, . . .
> Nor let us weep that our delight is fled
> Far from these carrion kites that scream below; . . .
> 'Tis we, who lost in stormy visions, keep
> With phantoms an unprofitable strife, . . .
> *We* decay . . .
> fear and grief
> Convulse us and consume us day by day, . . .
> He has outsoared the shadow of our night;
> Envy and calumny and hate and pain,
> And the unrest which men miscall delight,
> Can touch him not and torture not again;
> From the contagion of the world's slow stain
> He is secure, . . .

Spenser's passages[22] are from the *Lay,* 94–96, 87–88; and *November,* 165, 153–155:

> But our owne selves that here in dole are drent.
> Thus do we weep and waile, and wear our eies,
> Mourning in others our owne miseries. . . .
> Ne dreading harme from any foes of his,
> Ne fearing salvage beasts more crueltie. . . .
> She hath the bonds broke of eternall night, . . .
> O trustlesse state of earthly things, and slipper hope
> Of mortal men, that swincke and sweate for nought,
> And shooting wide, doe misse the marked scope. . . .

---

[21]300, 334–335, 345–346, 348–350, 352–357. With the subjective note in these lines, especially 345–346, Rossetti compares the conclusion of *The Sensitive Plant,* " 'Tis we, 'tis ours, are changed; not they." In several passages of this poem Böhme, *op. cit.,* 328–330, finds the unmistakable influence of the *Faerie Queene,* III and VII.

[22]With Shelley's two stanzas Ackermann, 39–40, compares only *November,* 165–177, and even here he fails to note the peculiar method by which the transition is effected.

Finally, the consolations in both poets are thoroughly permeated by Platonism. Again, this is not peculiar to these pastoral elegies; for instance, Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* has justly been compared with *Adonais* in this regard.[23] It is true that Shelley's Platonic ideas are generally independent of Spenser's poetic expression of them.[24] Yet, as with Keats, Shelley's interest in Plato and neo-Platonism derived from the Elizabethans, including Milton. This fact gives added interest to Platonic ideas of death as they occur in pastoral elegy. In *November* Spenser adopts generally Marot's Elysian fields; in the *Lay* he emphasizes the Platonic note (77–84):

> Whilest in sweet dreame to him presented bee
> Immortall beauties, which no eye may see.
> But he them sees, and takes exceeding pleasure
> Of their divine aspects, appearing plaine,
> And kindling love in him above all measure,
> Sweet love, still joyous, never fearing paine.
> For what so goodly forme he there doth see,
> He may enjoy from jealous rancor free.

But a direct parallel with Shelley occurs in the fervid lines on Sidney in *The Ruines of Time*.[25] With *Adonais*, 338–340:

> Dust to the dust! but the pure spirit shall *flow*
> *Back* to the burning fountain whence it came,
> A portion of the Eternal, which must glow . . .

compare Spenser, 281, 288, 290–291:

> Most gentle spirite breathed from above, . . .
> His blessed spirite, full of power divine . . .
> Loathing this sinfull earth and earthlie slime,
> *Fled backe* too soone unto his native place.

---

[23]Cf. Ackermann, 38–39.

[24]Yet Böhme, *op. cit.*, 318, quotes definite parallels between Spenser's *Hymne in Honour of Beautie* and Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*.

[25]This poem is once mentioned as a source of *Adonais*. Böhme, *ibid.*, 332, suggests that the passage, 397–414, in which Shelley tells of the reception of Keats by "the inheritors of unfulfilled renown" is drawn from Spenser, 330–336, describing the celestial joys of Sidney, "with Orpheus, and with Linus," mythical masters of song. This passage, ultimately from Virgil, follows pastoral convention.

The imagery at the close of *Lycidas* is both Christian and pagan. Borne aloft,

> Through the dear might of Him that walked the waves,

Lycidas becomes a *numen,* "the genius of the shore." Likewise in the later *Epitaphium Damonis,* with the heavenly joys of Damon are blended Milton's characteristic Platonic note; the poem ends as "the wild orgies rage under the thyrsus of Sion."[26] Milton's Platonism, which certainly owed something to Spenser, is more definite, more orderly. In Shelley's mystical conclusion — half pantheistic, half Platonic—he expresses his feeling that the soul is immortal, his will to believe. Intensely personal as is that expression, who can point definitely to its origins?

---

[26]W. V. Moody's translation.

MORE ABOUT QUEEN ELIZABETH'S EUPHUISM

By Theodore Stenberg

In an article entitled "Elizabeth as Euphuist before *Euphues*," published in the University of Texas *Studies in English*, No. 8 (1928), I attempted to show that some of Elizabeth's early familiar letters and more or less informal utterances are strongly Euphuistic. I also pointed out, incidentally, that the Queen's principal tutor and (later) Latin Secretary, Roger Ascham, showed a marked tendency toward Euphuism; and in this connection I quoted a short letter of Ascham's to Sir William Pawlett, written in 1554. My main purpose in that article was, however, merely to show that Elizabeth was a fairly accomplished Euphuist for some thirty years before the publication of Lyly's romances. By way of conclusion, I expressed the belief that Elizabeth's early practice of Euphuism served as an incentive toward the cultivation of this style, especially as regards courtiers like Gascoigne and Lyly.

In the first part of the present article I wish to offer supplementary evidence with reference of Elizabeth's early style. I shall give further illustrative material from Ascham and from the Queen herself; and I shall also draw upon an early Euphuist, Thomas Churchyard, who may have influenced the Queen's style considerably, and who, at any rate, deserves a prominent place in the history of Euphuism before Lyly.

In the remaining part of this article I shall furnish examples which will, I believe, show that Elizabeth's style remained about the same to the end of her life. Here, also, "we find practically all the characteristic patterns and devices of style which we have learned to associate primarily with Lyly. We find the characteristic balance of word against word, phrase against phrase, and clause against clause. We find repetition and alliteration (both simple and transverse), used as aids in the balancing of units. We find

a very marked rhythm. We find exaggerated tropes and similes. We find the characteristic use of proverbs."[1]

The following is Ascham's letter, of 1545, to Elizabeth's governess, Mrs. Ashley:

Gentle Mrs Astley, would God my wit wist what words would express the thanks you have deserved of all true English hearts for that noble imp [Elizabeth] by your labour and wisdom, so flourishing in all goodly godliness, the fruit whereof doth even now redound to her grace's high honour and profit, of singular commendations amongst men, and desert at God's hands, to the rejoicing of all that hear it, to the example of all that will follow, and to me, although the least amongst the most, yet one that knoweth it best. So pleasing a thing as to him in will is most ready, and in wishing most desirous to have her grace come to that end in perfectness with likelihood of her wit, painfulness in her study, true trade of her teaching, and your diligent overseeing doth most constantly promise. And although this one thing be sufficient for me to love you, yet the knot which hath knit Mr Astley and you together doth so bind me also to you, that if my ability would match my good will, you should find no friend faster unto you. He is a man whom I loved for his virtue before I knew him through acquaintance, whose friendship I account amongst my chief gains gotten in the court. Your favour to Mr Grindall and gentleness towards me are matters sufficient enough to deserve more good will than my little power is able to requite, and seeing every one of these occasions be causes convenient for thanks and duty to be rendered again at my hands, surely they altogether compel me to promise you most willing service, wherein seeing at this time I cannot perform that which will would, yet good will (which never goeth from me in the absence of ability) hath sent you this pen of silver for a token, the which if you so gladly receive as it was willingly sent, it may think itself well bestowed; if my prayer will ease your pain, you shall always be sure of it. Good Mrs, I would have you in any case to labour, and not to give yourself to ease. I wish all increase of virtue and honour to that my good lady whose wit, good Mrs Astley, I beseech you, somewhat favour. The younger, the more tender; the quicker, the easier to break. Blunt edges be dull, and dure much pain to little profit; the free edge is soon turned if it be not handled thereafter. If you pour much drink at once into a goblet, the most part will dash out and run over; if you pour it softly you may fill it even to the top, and so her grace, I doubt not, by little and little, may be increased in learning, that at length greater cannot be required. And if you think not this, gentle Mrs

[1]Quoted from my earlier article, pp. 65–66.

Astley, yet I trust you will take my words as spoken, although not of the greatest wisdom, yet not of the least good will.[2]

Ascham's letters to Elizabeth were generally written in Latin. The following is a part of the only English letter from Ascham to Elizabeth published by Giles:

Most excellent prince, my best lady and mistress, —May it please your highness: a double duty I owe to your majesty, — all faithful obedience to your highness, my whole heart and goodwill for your singular goodness; the first as my sovereign over many other, the second as my dearest mistress above all other; for you are no more my sovereign by your authority, than you are and have been always my best mistress by your goodness. Yet, as I daily wish and pray that you may long and long remain both highest sovereign and greatest friend unto me, so for this time of reading of this letter, I humbly beseech your majesty to imagine that your highness were absent in some withdrawing-chamber, and your goodness only present to read the same; for I write now not as to the queen to make any suit, but as to my dearest friend to ask some counsel in a suit I would fain make to the queen. But surely I will make no suit to her highness before I ask counsel of her goodness; if you mislike it, I will not follow; if your goodness allow of it, her highness will grant it. So will I have your goodness only ask it, or else I will surely go without it; and that because I would only be bound to her highness and your goodness, and to none other person for it; no, not those two my greatest and best friends, my noble Lord of Leicester and good Mr Secretary Cecill, greatest in authority, and best in goodwill to do any good thing for me; but only your goodness shall obtain it of her kindness, or else it shall never be mine. And as for my suit, it shall neither be unreasonable for your goodness to ask, nor great for her highness to grant, nor intolerable to any other person; it shall not be to enrich myself now, but only to leave some comfort to my good wife and children hereafter; and your goodness may speak willingly, and ask boldly for me, for her highness hath promised already, as my Lady Stafford heard, both courteously to hear and gladly to grant unto me and my children any fit and reasonable suit, which if it be liked and allowed by your wisdom, then helped forward by your goodness, of the good success thereof at her highness' hands I make no doubt at all.

My suit, with the occasion that moveth me to make it, and the necessity that driveth me to ask it is this: — I wrote once a little book of shooting; King Henry, her most noble father, did so well like and allow it, as he gave me a living for it; when he lost his life I lost my living; . . .[3]

---

[2]Ascham's *Works*, ed. Giles, I, part i, 85–86.

[3]Ascham, *op. cit.*, II, 152–153. The date of the letter is 1567.

The following, from *The Scholemaster*, is Ascham's translation of a part of one of the orations of Isocrates:

The Citie, was not more carefull, to see their Children well taughte, than to see their yong men well gouerned: which they brought to passe, not so much by common lawe, as by priuate discipline. For, they had more regard, that their yougthe, by good order shold not offend, than how, by lawe, they might be punished: And if the offense were committed, there was, neither waie to hide it, neither hope of pardon for it. Good natures, were not so moche openlie praised as they were secretlie marked, and watchfully regarded, lest they should lease the goodnes they had. Therefore in scholes of singing and dauncing, and other honest exercises, gouernours were appointed, more diligent to ouersee their good maners, than their masters were, to teach them anie learning. . . .[4]

According to the Short Title Catalogue, Thomas Churchyard published eleven independent works between 1552 and 1575—that is to say, before Gascoigne, Pettie, and Lyly. He wrote both prose and poetry, and was equally Euphuistic in both. His style shows no marked change after 1575, and does not appear to have been influenced by the above-mentioned Euphuists. The following, of 1572, is almost the whole of his dedication of a translation, *Ovid de Tristibus*, to one of the Queen's officials and favorites, Sir Christopher Hatton:

As I have great desire to perfourme my promise, touching my whole workes of English verses, (good maister *Hatton*), so I wish my selfe able everye waye to keepe the worthinesse of your frendship, which many have tasted, and few can fynd fault withall: such is the evennesse of your dealinges, and the upright behaviour of the same. Wel, least I should seeme to unfolde a fardle of flattrie, I retourne to my matter. My booke being unreadye, considering I was commaunded by a great and mighty parsonage to write the same againe, I am forced in the meane whyle to occupy your judgement with the reading of another man's worke, whose doings of it self are sufficient to purchase good report; albeit, it wanted such a patron as you are to defend it. The rest of that woorke, which as yet is not come forth, I purpose to pen and set out; craving a little leasure for the same. And surely, Sir, I blush that myne owne booke bears not a better tytle; but the baseness of the matter wil not suffer it to beare any higher name than *Churchyarde's Chyps:* for in the same are sondry tryfles composed in my youth, and such fruicte as those

[4]Ascham, *English Works*, ed. W. A. Wright, p. 211.

dayes and my simple knowledge coulde yelde; so that the aptest name for such stuffe was, I thought, to geve my workes this title, to be called *Churchyard's Chyps;* to warm the wittes of his welwillers....[5]

The following is the dedicatory letter of *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes,* and is of 1575:

To the Right Worshipful his tried and worthy friend,
Mister Christofer Hatton, Esquier,
Capataine of the Queenes Maiesties Garde,
and Gentleman of her Highnesse Privie Chamber.

The long liking and good wyll with the fast friendship I find in you (good maister Hatton) procures my penne presently to performe that I promised, no smal time since, touching a book of all my English verses in miter. The offer wherof came from my selfe, not for the goodnes of the matter, but for the parfitnesse of the persone to whom I ment to dedicate my woorke. And albeit your valour may not bee seen in so simple a glas, yet I hope this my workes shall not hinder your deserved renown, nor breed occasion to mislike my unbridled boldnes. And for that from my head, hand and penne, can floe no farre-fatched eloquence, nor sweete sprinklyng speaches (seasoned with spiced termes) I call my workes *Churchyardes Chips,* the basnes wherof can beguild no man with better opinion, than the substance it selfe doth import; and indeed if any other tietle had bene geven to my trifles, than the proper name of chips, men might have hoped for graver matter than the natuer of my verses can produce. Wherfor I prepared a title aunswerable to the weight of the worke, misdoubting not but that you will of cortesie behold what blaes of good wyll these chips will utter to the world; assuring myselfe and my friends, that herein is no kind of sparke, neither hurtfull nor uncomly. But as the worlde may judge, among many chips may be sundrie woods, so the worst of them makes but a crack, consumes with the coales, and turneth unto sinders. What fier can be made where neither smoek can be seen, nor hissing of stickes maye bee hard ? And yet these two properties agree in the end to one flame, effect and purpose. I write of severall thinges, whose sondry foundations might leade me to divers subjects, but each of them indeede serveth to one mans cogitacion and duetifull dealing towardes God and my country. And none of them hath any humour or disease, but sutch as every body may broke, disgeste, and embrace (bearing any graine of favour to the wrytter) which I hope makes the reddier

[5]Brydges, Egerton, *Restituta,* III, 514–515. Brydges follows the text of the third edition (that of 1580). Except for minor differences in spelling, the text of the second edition (1578) is the same as that of the third; and, although I have not seen the first edition (1572), I take it that the second edition is merely a reprint of the first.

passage to that which I caused to be printed. My first booke hath but few things in it, but such varietie of matter as shall breed to the reader rather pleasure than painfulnes. And the second shall contain a nomber of things, I trust, of no less pastime and commodity, waying mirrely the meaning of my imaginacions. Thus making my choice of a patroen for a farre better worke than my cunning can performe (and creping under the target of your protection) I weery you no further in reading of this my plain epistle, committing to the Almighty, your worship, good naem, and most desired felicitie, with increase of wished fortune.

Yours in all at commandment,
Thomas Churchyard, Gentleman.[6]

The following, of 1587, is the first part of a very long dedication, by Churchyard, of *The Worthines of Wales* to the Queen:

Most Redoubted and Royall Queene, that Kings doe feare, Subjects doe honour, strangers seeke succour of, and people of speciall spirit acknowledge (as their manifold books declare) I least of all, presume to farre, either in presenting matter to be iudged of, or to aduenture the cracking of credite, with writing any thing, that may breed mislike (presents not well taken) in the deepe iudgement of so high and mightie a Princesse. But where a multitude runnes forward (forced through desire or fortune) to shewe duetie, or to see what falleth out of their forwardnes, I stepping in among the rest, and driuen and led (by affection to followe) beyond the force of my power or feeling of any learned arte. So being thrust on with the throng, I finding my self brought before the presence of your Maiestie (but barely furnished of knowledge) to whom I must utter some matter of delight, or from whom I must retourne all abashed with open disgrace. . . .[7]

The following, of 1593, is the dedication of *A Pleasant Conceite Penned in Verse to Elizabeth:*

To the QUEENES most Excellent MAJESTIE.

May it please your Majestie, so long as breath is in my breast, life in my hart, and spirit in the heade, I cannot hold the hand from penning of some acceptable device to your Majestie, not to compare (in mine own over weening) with the rare poets of our flourishing

---

[6]Nichols, John, *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, first edition. The letter is entered under the year 1575, and Churchyard's book was published that year.

[7]Churchyard, Thomas, *The Worthines of Wales*, Spenser Society reprint, pp. 3–4.

age, but rather counterfeyting to sette foorth the workes of an extraordinarie Painter, that hath drawne in a Pleasant Conceite, divers Flowers, Fruites, and famous Townes: which Pleasant Conceite I have presumed (this Newe-yeeres-day) to present to your Majestie, in signe and token that your gracious goodnesse towards me oftentimes (and cheefely now for my pencyon) shal never goe out of my remembrance, with all dutifull services belonging to a loyall subject. So under your Princely favour and protection, praying for your prosperous preservation and Royall Estate, I proceede to my purposed matter.

Your Majesties humble servaunt,
Thomas Churchyard.[8]

We now come back to Elizabeth's own style. The two following sentences are from a short speech which the Princess is supposed to have made in London the day before her coronation:

No wille in me can lacke, neither doe I trust shall ther lacke any power. And perswade your selves, that for the safetie and quietnes of you all, I will not spare, if need be, to spend my blood.[9]

The following, of 1567, is the first sentence of a letter from Elizabeth to Mary Queen of Scots:

Madam, it hath been always held for a special principle in friendship that prosperity provideth, but adversity proveth friends; whereof at this time finding occasion to verify the same with our actions, we have thought meet, both for our professions, and your comfort, in these few words to testify our friendship, not only by admonishing you of the worst, but also to comfort you for the best.[10]

The following, of 1572, is the beginning of a letter from Elizabeth to Lord Burghley:

My Lorde me thinkes that I am more beholdinge to the hindar part of my hed than wel dare trust the forwards side of the same.[11]

---

[8]Nichols, *op. cit.* Entered under the year 1593. Churchyard wrote at least three dedicatory letters to the Queen. Besides the two that I have given, there is one reprinted in full by Nichols under the year 1588.

[9]Nichols, *op. cit.* Entered under the year 1558.

[10]Chamberlin, Frederick, *The Sayings of Elizabeth*, p. 212.

[11]Ellis, Henry, *Original Letters*, first series, II, 263.

I shall next give two pieces of Euphuistic verse attributed to Elizabeth. The following, according to Strype, was first published by Thomas Wilson (one of the Queen's most learned officials), in his book of logic, *The Rule of Reason.* Strype enters the piece under the year 1571.

That doubt of future foes exiles my present joy;
And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy.
For falsehood now doth flow, and subjects' faith doth ebb:
Which would not be, if reason rul'd, or wisdom weav'd the web.
But clouds of toys untry'd do cloak aspiring minds,
Which turn to rain of late repent, by course of changed winds.
The top of hope suppos'd the root of ruth will be,
And fruitless all their graffed guiles, as shortly ye shall see.
Those dazzled eyes with pride, which great ambition blinds,
Shall be unseal'd by worthy wights, whom foresight falsehood finds.
The daughter of debate, that eke discord doth sow,
Shall reap nò gain, where former rule hath taught still peace to grow.
No foreign banished wight shall anchor in this port:
Our realm it brooks no strangers' force: let them elsewhere resort.
Our rusty sword with rest shall first the edge employ,
To poll their tops that seek such change, and gape for joy.[12]

The following is confidently dated by Nichols as being of 1581 and as being the reflection of Elizabeth's final parting with one of her suitors, the Duke of Anjou:

I greeve, and dare not shewe my discontent;
I love, and yet am forst to seeme to hate;
I do, yet dare not say I ever meant;
I seeme starke mute, but inwardly do prate;
I am and not; I freese, and yet am burn'd;
Since from myself, my other self I turn'd.

My care is like my shaddowe in the sunne,
Followes me fliinge, flies when I pursue it;
Standes and lies by me, doth what I have don;
His too familiar care doth make me rue it:
No meanes I finde to rid him from my brest,
Till by the end of thinges it be supprest.

---

[12]Strype, *Annals*, edition of 1824, II, part i, 131.

Some gentler passions slide into my minde,
For I am softe, and made of melting snowe;
Or be more cruell, Love, and so be kynd,
Let me, or flote, or sinke, be high or lowe;
Or let me live with some more sweete content;
Or dye, and soe forget what love ere meant.[13]

The following, of 1583, is a letter from Elizabeth to James VI of Scotland:

Amonge your manie studies my deare Brother and Coson, I would Isocrates noble lesson weare not forgotten, that wills the Emperor his suvorain to make his words of more accompt than other men theare othes, as metest enseignes to showe the truest bage of a Princes armes. It moveth me much to move you, whan I behold how diversely sondrie wicked pathes, and, like all evill illusions, wrapped under the cloke of your best safety, endanger your state and best good. How maie yt be that yow can suppose an honorabele awneswere maie be made me when all your doings gainesaie your former vowes. You deale not with one whose experience can take drosse for good paiments, nor one that esily will be beguiled. No, No, I mind to sett to schoole your craftiest counsiler. I am sorie to se you bent to wrong youre selfe in thinking to wronge others; yea thos which if thay had not even than taken opertunitie to lett a ruin that was newly begon, that plott would have perilled you more than a thowsand of such mene lives be worth, that perswade you to vouche such deades to deserve a sawles pardon. Why doe you forgett what you write to myselfe with your owne hand, shewing howe dangerous a course the Duke was entred in, thougth yow excused him sellf to thinke noe harm therin, and yet thay that with your safetie preserved yow from it, yow must seme to give them reproche of gilty folke. I hope you more esteme your honor than to give yt such a staine, since you have protested so often to have taken these Lordes for your most affectionate subjects, and to have done all for your best. To conclude, I besech you passe no further in this cause till you receve an expres messinger, a trusty servant of mine, by whome you shall see plainley yow may receive honor and contentment with more suretie to your rest and state, than all thes dissembling counselors will or can bringe yowe. As knoweth the Lord to whose most safe keping I doe committ yow, with my many commendations to your person.[14]

The following, of 1586, is also from Elizabeth to James VI:

---

[13]Nichols, *op. cit.* Entered under the year 1581.

[14]Ellis, *op. cit.*, first series, II, 294–295.

My deare Brother, I would you knewe (though not felt) the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my meaninge) hath befalen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine whom ere now yt hath pleased yow to favor, to instruct yow trewly of that which ys to yerksom for my penne to tell yow. I beseche yow that as God and many moe knowe, how innocent I am in this case: so you will believe me, that yf I had bid ought I owld have bid by yt. I am not so bace minded that feare of any livinge creature or prince should make me afrayde to do that were just, or don to denye the same. I am not of so base a linage, nor cary so vile a minde. But, as not to disguise, fits not a Kinge, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cawse them shewe even as I ment them. Thus assuringe yourself of me, that as I knowe this was deserved, yet yf I had ment yt I would never laye yt on others shoulders; no more will I not damnifie my selfe, that thought yt not.

The circumstance yt may please yow to have of this bearer. And for your part, thincke yow have not in the World a more lovinge kinswoman, nor a more deare frend then my self; nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve yow and your estate. And who shall otherwise perswade yow, judge them more partiall to others then yow. And thus in hast I leave to troble yow: besechinge God to send yow a longe Reign. The 14th of Feb. 1586.

Your most assured lovinge sister and cosin

Elizabeth R.[15]

The following, of 1586, is a letter from Elizabeth to Sir Amias Paulet:

Amias, my most faithful and careful servant! God reward thee treblefold for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, my Amias, how kindly, besides most dutifully, my grateful heart accepts and prizes your spotless endeavours and faultless actions, your wise orders and safe regard, performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travails and rejoice your heart, in which I charge you place this most just thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at, and suppose no treasures to countervail such a faith. If I reward not such deserts, let me lack when I have most need of you; if I acknowledge not such merit, *non omnibus dictum.*

Let your wicked murderess [his prisoner, Mary Queen of Scots] know how, with hearty sorrow, her vile deserts compel these orders; and bid her, from me, ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings towards the saviour of her life many a year, to the intolerable peril of my own, and yet, not contented with so many forgivenesses, must

[15]Ellis, *op. cit.*, first series, III, 22–23.

fault again so horribly, far passing woman's thought, much less a princess; instead of excusing whereof, not one can sorrow, it being so plainly confessed by the authors of my guiltless death. Let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess her, so as her better part may not be lost, for which I pray with hands lifted up to Him, that may both save and spill.

With my most loving adieu and prayer for thy long life, your most assured and loving sovereign, as thereby by good deserts induced.[16]

The following is from Elizabeth to Lady Paget, on the death of the latter's daughter:

Call to your mind, good Kate, how hardly we princes can brook the crossing of our commands. How ireful will the highest Power be, (may you be sure,) when murmurs shall be made of his pleasing his will. Let nature, therefore, not hurt herself, but give place to the giver. Though this lesson be from a *sely* vicar, yet it is sent from a loving soveraine.[17]

The following, of 1596, is a letter from Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex:

Eyes of youth have sharp sight, but commonly not so deep as those of older age, which makes me marvel less at rash attempts and headstrong counsels, which give not leisure to judgment's warning, nor heed advice, but make a laughter at the one, and despise with scorn the last. This have I not heard, but seen, and thereof can witness bear; yet I cannot be so lewd of nature to suppose the scope was not good. Now, so the race was run, and do more condemn the granters than the offerer, for when I see the admirable work of the eastern wind, so long to last beyond the custom of nature, I see, as in a crystal, the right figure of my folly, that ventured supernatural haps upon the point of frenatical imputation: but it pleaseth his goodness to strengthen our weakness, and warns us to use wit when we have it hereafter: foreseen haps breed no wonder, no more doth your short returned post before his time. But for answer; if your full fed men were not more than fitted by your desired rate, that purse should not not be thinned at the bottom, that daily, by lightening, is made too thin already; but if more heed were taken how, than haste what, we needed not such bye reckonings. Kings have the honor to be titled earthly gods, and therefore breeds our shame, if we disgrace so much our name, as though too far short, yet some piece of proportion were

---

[16]Strickland, Agnes, *Lives of the Queens of England*, edition of 1878, IV, 508.

[17]Strickland, *op. cit.*, IV, 429. Nichols enters this letter under the year 1589.

not in us, not ever to reward desert by the rule of their merit, but bear with weakness, and help to lift from ground the well nigh falling man. This, at the present time, makes me like the lunatic man that keeps a smack of the remain of his frenzy's freak, helped well thereto by the influence of *Sol in Leone*, that makes me yield for company to a longer proportion, than a wiser in my place would ever grant unto, with this caveat, that this lunatic goodness make you not bold to keep too many that you have, and much less take in more to heap more errors to our mercy; also, that you trust not to the grace of your crazed vessel, that to the ocean may fortune be to humble; foresee and prevent it now in time, afore too late; you vex me too much with small regard of what I scape or bid. Admit that by miracle it would do well, yet venture not such wonders where such approachful mischief might betide you. There remains that you, after your perilous first attempt, do not aggravate that danger with another in a farther off climate, which must cost blows of good store; let character serve your turn, and be content when you are well, which hath not ever been your property. Of this no more, but for all my moods, I forget not my tenses, in which I see no leisure for aught but petitions, to fortify with best forwardness the wants of this army, and in the same include your safe return, and grant you wisdom to discern betwixt *verisimile* and *potest fieri*. Forget not to salute with my great favor good Thomas and faithful Mountjoye. I am too like the common faction that forget to give thanks for what I received, but I was so loth to take that I had well nigh forgot to thank, but receive them now with millions, and yet the rest keeps the dearest.[18]

In 1596, when the English army was about to set out on an expedition against Spain, the Queen wrote a prayer for success and sent it to the Generals. To Essex, who was one of the Generals, she included the following letter:

I make this humble bill of requests to Him that all makes and goes, that with his benign hand He will shadow you so, as all harm may light beside you, and all that may be best hap to your share; that your return may make you better, and me gladder. Let your companion, my most faithful Charles, be sure that his name is not left out in this petition. God bless you both, as I would be if I were there, which, whether I wish or not, he alone doth know.[19]

---

[18]Devereux, W. B., *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, I, 445–446. Devereux comments on this letter as follows: "It is a pity she had not taken some lessons from her favourite in the art of writing intelligible English" *(loc. cit.)*.

[19]Devereux, *op. cit.*, I, 345. Devereux also gives the prayer.

In 1597 the Queen wrote a second prayer for the success of her army. From the point of view of style, it is perhaps the most remarkable prayer that she has left us:

O god all-maker, keeper, and guider: Inurement of thy rare-seene, unused and seeld-heard-of-goodnes, powred in so plentifull sort upon us full oft; breeds now this boldnes, to crave with bowed knees, and heartes of humilitye, thy large hande of helping power, to assist with wonder oure iust cause, not founded on Prides-motion, nor begun on Malice-stock; But as thou best knowest, to whome nought is hid, grounded on iust defence from wronges, hate, and bloody desire of conquest. For scince means thou hast imparted to save that thou hast given, by enioying such a people, as scornes their bloodshed, where suretie ours is one: Fortifie (deare God) such heartes in such sort, as their best part may be worst, that to the truest part meant worst, with least losse to such a Nation, as despise their lives for their Cuntryes good: That all Forreine Landes may laud and admire the Omnipotency of thy worke: a fact alone for thee only to performe. So shall thy name be spread for wonders wrought, and the faithfull encouraged to repose in thy unfellowed grace: And wee that mynded nought but right, inchained in thy bondes for perpetuall slavery, and live and dye the sacrificers of oure soules for such obtayned favoure. Warrant, (Deare Lord) all this with thy command. *Amen.*[20]

The following, of 1597, is a part of a letter from Elizabeth to James VI:

My deare brother, I am to seake with what argument my letters should be fraught, since such themes be given me as I am loth to finde, and am slow to recite. Yet, since I needs must treate of, and unwillingly receave, I cannot omitte to sett before you a to rare example of a seduced king by a sinister councell. . . . Wherefore, for fine, lett this suffice you, that I am as evil treated by my named frend as I could be by my knowen foe. . . .[21]

The following, of 1597, is a letter from Elizabeth to Lady Norris, upon the death of the latter's son:

---

[20]From a facsimile of Elizabeth's original handwritten copy, given in Chamberlin's *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 18. This prayer was printed in 1597, and has been carefully reprinted in *Liturgical Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, edited by W. K. Clay for the Parker Society, pp. 671–672. Strype comments on this prayer as follows: "This was that queen's stiff, affected language" (*Annals*, edition of 1824, IV, 441).

[21]*Letters of Queen Elizabeth and King James VI*, ed. Bruce, p. 115.

Myne owne Crowe, harme not
thyselfe for booteless healpe;
but shewe a good example, to
comfort your dolorous yokefellow.

Althoughe wee have deferred long to represent unto you our grieved thoughtes, because we liked full ill to yeilde you the first reflection of misfortune, whom we have alwayes sought to cherrishe and comfort; yet, knowing now that necessitie must bring it to your eares, and nature consequently must move both griefe and passions in your harte, we resolved no longer to smother either our care for your sorrowe, or the sympathy of our greife for his love, whearin yf it be true that society in sorrowe works diminution, wee doe assure you, by this true messenger of our minde, that nature can have stirred no more dolorous affection in you as a mother for a deare sonne, then gratefulnes and memory of his services past hath wrought in us his Soveraigne aprehension of our misse of so worthy a servant. But nowe that natueres common worke is done, and he that was borne to dye hath paied his tribute, let that Christian discretion stay the flux of your imoderate greiving, which hath instructed you both by example and knowledge, that nothing of this kind hath happened but by Godes divine Providence. And let theise lines from your loving and gratious Soveraigne serve to assure you that there shall ever apeare the lively characters of you and yours that are left, in valuing all their faithfull and honest indevoures. More at this time we will not write of this unsilente subject; but have dispatched this gentleman to visite both your lord and you, to condole with you the true sence of your love; and to pray you that the worlde may see, that what tyme cureth in weake mindes, that discretion and moderation healpeth in you in this accident, wheare theare is so just cause to demonstrate true patience and moderation.[22]

The following is supposed to be almost the last sentence spoken by Elizabeth: "I wish not to live any longer, but desire to die."[23] Truly, she appears to have been faithful to her alliterations and her antitheses to the very end.

---

[22]Nichols, *op. cit.* Entered under the year 1597.

[23]Chamberlin, *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 312.

TWO SHAKESPEARIAN PICTURES OF PURITANS

By Robert Adger Law

That Shakespeare had no special admiration for Puritans one would judge from a casual reading of *Twelfth Night* or *Henry the Fourth.* But I have never seen suggestion that *Richard the Third* and *Othello* also contain satirical pictures of the Puritans which would not be lost on an Elizabethan audience. Brief analysis of certain passages in each play may lead to clearer understanding of their significance.

I

The latter part of Act III of *Richard the Third* is concerned with Gloucester's endeavors to escape censure for his deliberate murder of Hastings and to gain popular assent to his seizure of the English throne from his nephew, young Edward V, then imprisoned with York, his brother, in the Tower of London. To accomplish both these ends Gloucester plots with Buckingham to befool the Lord Mayor of London and the citizens. Their efforts are completely successful.

Halle's *Chronicle,* the probable source of the play, varies at this point distinctly from Shakespeare's version of the story. Halle gives the name of the Lord Mayor as "Edmond Shaa," and tells us that he entered actively into a conspiracy with Gloucester and Buckingham "to frame the cytie to their appetite."[1] Halle also states that Shaw's brother, Raffe Shaw, a clerk, preached a sermon in praise of Richard before his coronation, and "Pynkie," an Augustine friar, preached a similar one just after the coronation in furtherance of this conspiracy. Following the account of Richard, or Gloucester in Hardyng's Chronicle, Halle tells us a little later that Gloucester appeared before the Lord Mayor and the citizens "in a galary over them with a bishop on every hand of him."[2]

---

[1]Furness, H. H.: *A New Variorum Shakespeare. Richard the Third,* Appendix, p. 478.

[2]*Ibid.,* p. 484.

This account of Halle Shakespeare has greatly expanded and changed with the special purpose, I think, of satirizing the Puritans and possibly the Puritan Lord Mayor of his own day. Characteristic Puritan traits that still lend themselves to satire by contemporary "liberals" are alleged to be: (a) an assumption of humble piety, born of hypocrisy; (b) an unbending attitude on the subject of sex; and (c) a horror of profanity. Let us see if all these traits are subjected to satire in *Richard the Third,* Act III.

Shakespeare makes the Mayor, not an active conspirator, but the dupe of Gloucester and Buckingham. Explaining to the Mayor the reason for the sudden execution of Hastings, Gloucester declares (III. v. 24–32):

> So dear I loved the man that I must weep.
> I took him for the plainest harmless creature
> That breathed upon this earth a Christian;
> Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded
> The history of all her secret thoughts;
> So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue
> That, his apparent open guilt omitted,
> I mean, his conversation with Shore's wife,
> He liv'd from all attainder of suspect.

The Mayor is easily led by the false statements of Buckingham and Gloucester to believe that Hastings confessed treason before his execution, and that only haste of friends prevented delay in carrying out his sentence till the Mayor should be present to hear. He asserts of Hastings (III. v. 50–51):

> I never look'd for better at his hands,
> After he once fell in with Mistress Shore.[3]

"But," continues the Mayor (ll. 62–63),

> my good lord, your Grace's word shall serve
> As well as I had seen and heard him speak.

And he goes off to "acquaint our duteous citizens" with this story. Meanwhile Gloucester sends a messenger to invite

[3]I am here following Neilson's text (Cambridge Poets, 1906). Some editors assign this speech to Buckingham instead of the Mayor, but the question does not affect the present argument.

"Doctor Shaw" and "Friar Penker" to meet him immediately at Baynard's Castle. The sermons of these two unworthy divines are not mentioned by Shakespeare, but both men apparently stand with Gloucester later.

In Scene vii Buckingham reports to Gloucester that his attempt to arouse the citizens at Guildhall to cry enthusiastically for "King Richard" has met with a cold reception, but the Mayor "and his brethren" are coming to Baynard's Castle. He advises Gloucester to get a prayer-book in his hand, to "stand between two churchmen," and to "be not easily won."

When the Mayor and his company appear, Catesby tells them of Gloucester (III. vii. 61–64) :

> He is within, with two right reverend fathers,
> Divinely bent to meditation:
> And in no worldly suit would he be moved,
> To draw him from his holy exercise.

With two brief omissions the scene continues (ll. 71 ff.) :

Buck. Ah, ha, my lord, this prince is not an Edward;
He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed;
But on his knees at meditation;
Not dallying with a brace of courtezans,
But meditating with two deep divines;
Not sleeping, to engross his idle body,
But praying, to enrich his watchful soul.
Happy were England would this virtuous prince
Take on himself the sovereignty thereof:
But, sure, I fear we shall ne'er win him to it.
May. Marry, God forbid his Grace should say us nay. . . .
Buck. When holy and devout religious men
Are at their beads, 'tis hard to draw them thence,
So sweet is zealous contemplation.

Enter Gloucester aloft, between two Bishops

May. See, where his Grace stands 'tween two clergymen!
Buck. Two props of virtue for a Christian prince
To stay him from the fall of vanity;
And, see, a book of prayer in his hand,
True ornaments to know a holy man.
Famous Plantagenet, most gracious prince,
Lend favourable ear to our requests;
And pardon us the interruption
Of thy devotion and right Christian zeal.

Glou. My lord, there needs no such apology.
I do beseech your Grace to pardon me,
Who earnest in the service of my God,
Deferr'd the visitation of my friends.
But, leaving this, what is your Grace's pleasure?
Buck. Even that, I hope, which pleaseth God above
And all good men of this ungovern'd isle.
Glou. I do suspect I have done some offence
That seems disgracious in the city's eye,
And that you come to reprehend my ignorance.
Buck. You have, my lord. Would it might please your Grace,
On our entreaties, to amend your fault!
Glou. Else wherefore breathe I in a Christian land?

Buckingham now casts off all semblance of Puritan speech and in vigorous terms urges Gloucester to assume the crown. In reply Gloucester at first rebukes him for the suggestion and declines. Finally Buckingham, affecting to lose his patience, exclaims (l. 219) :

Come, citizens! 'Zounds! we'll entreat no more.
Glou. O, do not swear, my Lord of Buckingham.[4]

Shakespeare's new coloring of the entire situation; his addition of the prayer-book with Buckingham's interpretation thereof; the pietistic attitude assumed by Gloucester and Buckingham for the benefit of the Lord Mayor and his "brethren;" their stressing of Edward's amorous proclivities instead of the bar sinister on his line that Halle emphasizes; the distinctive diction of the Puritans illustrated in "zeal," "virtue," "vice," "meditation," "worldly," "disgracious," "contemplation," "lewd," and "vanity;" and, finally, Gloucester's unctuous reproof of swearing, make the picture complete.

II

The passage in *Othello* is much briefer and requires little comment. It has to do with Puritan doctrines rather than Puritan practice. These doctrines were familiar to the

[4]The point of this speech is lost in the Folio. " 'Zounds" was too bloody an oath to pass the censor after the 1605 act against stage profanity. With the excision of the one offending word the meaning of the second line disappeared, and it, too, was dropped.

ordinary English audience of 1604. From the silence of editors I judge that they are not so familiar to intelligent readers of the present day.

In *Othello*, II, iii, the villainous Iago has carefully plotted to get Cassio drunk and then to disgrace him before the eyes of every one. Perceiving that his victim is sufficiently intoxicated, Iago sings two drinking songs. Then follows an interesting dialogue (II. iii. 101–120):

Cas. Why, this is a more exquisite song than the other.
Iago. Will your hear't again?
Cas. No; for I hold him unworthy of his place that does those things. Well, God's above all; and there be souls must be saved, and there be souls must not be saved.
Iago. It's true, good lieutenant.
Cas. For mine own part, — no offence to the general, nor any man of quality, — I hope to be saved.
Iago. And so do I too, lieutenant.
Cas. Ay, but by your leave, not before me; the lieutenant is to be saved before the ancient. Let's have no more of this; let's to our affairs. God forgive us our sins! Gentlemen, let's look to our business. Do not think, gentlemen, I am drunk: this is my ancient; this is my right hand, and this is my left; I am not drunk now; I can stand well enough, and speak well enough.

Now, of course, the very arguments used by Cassio to show that he is not drunk prove the contrary. His tongue is undoubtedly thick and his standing wobbly. He likewise evinces for the first time in the play, I think, a military snobbishness that he expects to prevail in the Kingdom of Heaven. Along with this trait he exhibits in his intoxication a fondness for theological reasoning that at once suggests the Puritan divine.

After a general statement of the sovereignty of God ("God's above all"), which may mean little to the average reader but is fundamental to Calvinism, he expresses the one most distinctive Calvinistic or Puritan belief: there are souls which "must be saved" and others which "must not be saved." This is a simple statement of the doctrine of predestination, which was in 1647 formulated as an article in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (Chap. III. iii): "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His

glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death."

Cassio continues in the same vein: "For mine own part, . . . I hope to be saved." The Puritan would classify this statement as an instance of "the perseverance of the saints." A modern expositor of Calvinism thus puts it: "Those whom God has chosen to life He effectually calls to salvation, and they are kept by Him in progressive faith and holiness to the end."[5] The more authoritative if less forthright wording of the *Confession of Faith* (Chap. XVIII. i) is: "Although hypocrites and other unregenerate men may vainly deceive themselves with false hopes . . . , yet such as truly believe . . . may in this life certainly be assured that they are in a state of grace."

So far Cassio's pronouncements have been in strict accord with orthodox tenets of Puritanism, but when Iago, his military subordinate, claims a like assurance, Cassio forgets himself. He claims primacy of office for entrance into Heaven: "The lieutenant is to be saved before the ancient."

With his final prayer for the forgiveness of sins, Shakespeare reminds us that Cassio is drunk. Had he been in his sober senses, he would not have played the Puritan.

---

[5] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article on John Calvin, 11th Edition, V. 76.

BOYSE'S *ALBION'S TRIUMPH*

By R. H. Griffith

Letters from places as far separated as England and the State of Washington have come to me enquiring about a poem entitled *Albion's Triumph.* It is listed in the *Catalogue* of the Wrenn books under Akenside's name, and upon that basis is mentioned, with reservation, among Akenside's compositions by Mr. Iolo A. Williams in his *Seven XVIIIth Century Bibliographies.*

Samuel Boyse (1708–1749) was its author, not Akenside. It was published as an anonymous folio pamphlet in July, 1743, the first, and only separate, and only complete, edition of the poem. Since that year it has been a most elusive thing. The copy in The University of Texas Library is, so far as correspondence and available records show, unique. For this reason, and "by request," I am herewith reprinting the poem entire.

The chief original sources of information on the life of Boyse are four, as Chalmers has pointed out: Cibber's *Lives of the Poets,* V (1753), 160 ff.; Kippis, Towers, etc., *Biographia Britannica,* Second Ed., II (1780), 533 ff.; Nichols, *Select Collection of Poems,* II, VI, VIII (1780, 1782); and manuscripts in the British Museum. Upon them are based the sketches in Anderson, Chalmers, and the D. N. B. The improvidently disastrous life of Boyse is, as Mr. William Lyon Phelps comments, more interesting than his poetry.

Albion's Triumph is listed in the July register of new books in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1743, p. 392; and on p. 378 stanzas XIII, XIV, XV, XIX, and XX are quoted. In neither place is the author's name mentioned. The text in the *Magazine* reads "ghastly" in the final line instead of "ghostly" as in the folio pamphlet. Other variations are type-setter's change of punctuation, capitalization, and italics. The five stanzas in the *Magazine* are quoted in Cibber's *Lives,* with further slight type-setter's changes, but with the reading of "ghastly" in the final line. From the

Magazine or, more likely, from the *Lives* these five stanzas are given among Boyse's poems in Chalmers's *English Poets*, XIV, 539, with the comment (p. 520), of *Albion's Triumph* "I have been able to recover a fragment only, which is added to his other acknowledged pieces." Nothing from the *Triumph* is printed in Anderson's *British Poets*, but in the "Life" of Boyse Anderson, X (1795), 330, states, "In 1743, he published, without his name, an ode on the battle of Dettingen, intituled, *Albion's Triumph.*"

Why the anonymity should have baffled modern cataloguers and scholars is difficult to understand. The poem is listed in the Index to Chalmers (1810, XXI, 786) under the letter A: "Albion's Triumph, stanzas from . . . Boyse, XIV, 539." Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* (1824) does not list the title of the poem under A (Vol. III) or T (Vol. IV), but under "Dettingen" (Vol. III) it has the entry: "1743. Albion's Triumph; being an Ode on the Battle of D. 143q."; and at 143q of Vol. I is found: "Boyse, Samuel . . . Albion's Triumph; being an Ode on the Battle of Dettingen. 1742. (anon.)." Halkett and Laing, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* (1882; same in revised ed., 1926), I, 62, enter: "Albion's triumph; being an ode on the battle of Dettingen. [By Samuel Boyse.] 1742. [*Biog. Brit.*, II, p. 535. *Watt, Bib. Brit.*]." Stonehill, Block, and Stonehill, *Anonyma and Pseudonyma* (1926), I, 38, have: "Albion's Triumph. (1742). (By Samuel Boyse.)." The latter two authorities, without a proper scholarly scepticism, follow the wrong one of the two dates given by Watt. The battle of Dettingen, which was the subject of Boyse's Ode, and which was a victory for King George II of England leading his troops personally, was fought from ten o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon of June 27/16, 1743.

The principal interest of the poem to modern scholars resides in its use of the Spenserian stanza, or, to speak with greater strictness, the stanza as amended by Matthew Prior (if one feels contempt for Prior's aesthetic experiment and wishes to condemn it with no profanity, with little

violence, and with devastating thoroughness, one may denominate it a pseudo-Spenserian stanza; Boyse preferred it). Professor Phelps has made a study of the popularity of this stanza in his *Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement* (1893); he discusses Boyse, pp. 64–66, as one of the imitators of Spenser, without mentioning *Albion's Triumph;* but in Appendix I he lists it as: "1743. Anon. "Albion's Triumph'." Since Mr. Phelps has the correct date, but does not know the author's name, it looks probable that he drew his information from the *Gentleman's Magazine;* and if he did, he might very well have also included in his list the anonymous 100-line poem in this same stanza "To Mr. Urban" printed on the *verso* of the title-leaf of the volume for 1743, which is probably of Boyse's composing.

The poem reprinted from the Wrenn copy:

Albion's Triumph.| An| Ode,| Occasioned| By the Happy Success of his Majesty's| Arms on the Maine.| —| In the Stanza of Spencer.| —| [5 lines Latin—Hor.]| —| [Ornament]| —|

London:| Printed for J. Robinson at the Golden Lyon in Ludgate-street. 1743.| (Price Six Pence.)

Folio. Four leaves. Pp. [1]–8. P. 3, a large head-piece and a block capital I (1¼ x 1-3/16 inches).

Twenty stanzas; each has ten lines except No. XX, which inserts an extra line to end the whole ode with the climax of a triplet.

ALBION's TRIUMPH

An

ODE.

I.

IMmortal Maid,[1] fair Daughter of the Skies!
FREEDOM! thou dearest Blessing of Mankind!
For whom the *Captive* pines, - - the *Soldier* dies,

[1]*Pindar*, in his XIIth Olympic, calls *Fortune*, *Ilaï Znvoς ελουθεριου*, "The *Daughter* of *Jove*, the *Guardian* of *Liberty:*" The Epithet is certainly then as properly applied to *Liberty* herself.

And the bold *Sailor* braves the wintry Wind:
Britannia's Boast! - - say Goddess wilt thou deign
Thy Warmth to animate the feeble Muse!
That on the ensanguin'd Banks of distant *Maine*
With an attentive Eye thy Footsteps views;
And make with joyful Admiration pleas'd
To long succeeding Time, thy deathless *Trophies* rais'd.

II.

'Twas Heaven and you to GEORGE's martial Breast
Imparted first the truly great Design,
States to relieve by *Perfidy* distress'd,
And chase *Oppression* from the Banks of *Rhine*.
For this thy *Britons* at their King's Command;
O'er Snows,[2] thro' Forests urged their chearful Way;
Led by experienc'd STAIR's conducting Hand,
Southward they march, and gain upon the Day:
Till lo! the Pride of GAUL with hostile Threat
Advancing, seem to warn - - - that BRITAIN must retreat.

III.

Vain Menace! while new Life to *British* Hearts
Their Royal *Sovereign*'s happy Presence gave;
New Spirits to the Camp his Smile imparts,
Inspires the timid, and confirms the brave:
Around their KING the faithful Army crowd,
With native Ardour every Bosom glows;
To Heav'n they raise their Acclamations loud,
And burn impatient to engage their Foes:
Eager to vindicate their Country's Fame
And shew that *Britons* still are worthy of the *Name*.

IV.

Mean Time confounded with the Shouts that rise,
Repeated by the ecchoing River's Shore,

---

[2]Our Troops had very severe Weather in the Beginning of their March to *Germany*.

"What means (*Noailles* demands) this empty Noise?
"And is it thus the *British* Cannons roar?
Too soon his trembling Spies the Answer bring
That dyes his haughty Cheek with sudden pale,
" 'Tis at his Camp arriv'd BRITANNIA'S King,
"Hence the wild Tumult wafted on the Gale!
"And *Germans* now an alter'd Aspect wear,
"As if they joy'd to see - - - some new *Deliverer* near!

V.

Yes - - - yes GERMANIA may remind the Day,
She prostrate saw on *Blenheim's* glorious Plain;
Their mutual Foe to *Marlbro'* Vengeance pay,
For all the Woes she felt - - - a countless Train!
Nor less she hopes from *British* Valour now,
Then that the fair Event shall be the same,
That soon all Fears shall vanish from her Brow
And *Peace* once more diffuse her healing Beam:
Peace, which to violate no Pow'r shall dare,
Establish'd on the Base of *Honorable War.*[3]

VI.

But different Cares[4] the *Gallic* Chief oppress,
Pensive the dubious Chance of War he weigh'd,
Eastward he views advancing ill Success,
Northward the Storm is gathering round his Head.
He studies then to intercept the Foe,[5]
Ere by the Troops auxiliar fully joyn'd,
At *Britain* aims the meditated Blow,
And vainly hopes an easy Prey to find:

---

[3]*Pax quæritur Bello,* the Motto of *Oliver Cromwell,* on his Coin, and indeed one Maxim of his Government, especially as to Foreign States.

[4] [5]Marshal *Noailles,* who saw *Broglio* retreating, as fast as possible, before Prince *Charles,* and fearing the Army of the Allies would, when join'd, be superior to him, took this hazardous Step to ruin it, which succeeded accordingly.

With early Dawn his Forces pass the *Maine*,
And shine in rich Array - -[6] embattled on the Plain.

VII.

Quick the hoarse Drum proclaims the known Alarm;
Quick the shrill Trumpet speaks the Foe is near!
As quick, rejoyc'd, the valiant *Britons* arm,[7]
And ready at their Leader's Call appear:
Fir'd at their *Sov'reign's* all enlivening Sight,
Th' auspicious *Word* of Victory they wait,
Resolv'd to prove in the approaching Fight,
That generous *Courage* dares the Shafts of Fate:
When *Liberty* and *Justice* warm the Brave,
Not arbitrary Pow'r the *Tyrant's* Head can save!

VIII.

Now fierce *Destruction* waves her ruddy Brand,
With Havock to pollute the crimson'd Field;
The *Gallic* Squadrons rush on every Hand,
In vain they urge the *British* Ranks to yield;
Repuls'd, - - - impetuous they recharge again,
Again compell'd inglorious to retreat:
As the *firm Rock* deep rooted[8] in the Main,
Resists the Waves that threaten round its Feet,
So, STAIR! thy pleas'd attentive Eye beheld
Thrice the proud Foe advance - - - - as oft Shame repell'd.

IX.

But, Goddess, say, what *British* Warrior shines
Distinguish'd by his Motions from afar!
See, how he animates the steady Lines,
And seems the ruling Spirit of the War!

---

[6]He passed the *Maine* at *Scelingestadt*, with 27, 25, or as some say 23000 Men, all choice Troops, amongst which were the *French* King's Houshold. His Majesty had but 17000, and those formed as they came up. The *English* had all the Disadvantages of the Ground, but the Courage of the Men did all.

[7]It is certain we were supriz'd, because it was imagined the *French* had no Orders to be the Aggressors.

[8]My Lord *Stair's* Crest is a *Rock*, with the Motto FIRM.

'Tis CLAYTON! - - - - who for lov'd BRITANNIA's Fame,
Devotes with Pleasure his Remains of Breath;
Too soon shall Fate suppress the *Hero's* Flame,
Too soon consign thee to the Arms of Death!
Yet midst her Joy - - - - thy Country steals a Tear,
As if thy Loss had made her Conquest seem too dear!

X.

Nor was thy Death less worthy than thy Life,
Nor ought of Boasting yielded to the *Gaul;*
The *Britons*[9] urg'd with doubled Force the Strife,
Resolv'd to perish, or revenge thy Fall:
As when the *Lyon* wounded sees the Blood,
The generous Savage brindles up his Mane,
Issues majestic from his native Wood,
And with resistless Fury scow'rs the Plain;
So rous'd, the *Britons* now attack the Foe,
Nor fails to follow soon - - - their total Overthrow!

XI.

Yet for a while they shew'd a warlike Mien,
As willing to repair their late Disgrace;
'Till *Campbell*[10] with his hardy *Greys* came in,
And taught them to retire with brisker Pace:
Yet here, alas! a second Loss we prov'd,
(Conquest, like Gold, must suffer some Allay)
Here fell the Youth - - - - lamented and belov'd;[11]
Here *Honeywood* beheld his last of Day!
Yet BRITAIN's rising Glory beam'd a Joy,
That sooth'd the death-felt Pang, and made him pleas'd to die!

---

[9]His Death shorten'd the Action, for the *British* Infantry seeing him fall, fought like Devils: to use a vulgar Phrase.

[10]The *French* made two Stands after they were first broke.

[11]General *Campbell,* with the *Scots Greys,* compleated their Defeat.

XII.

'Tis over now - - - - fair *Conquest* sheds her Rays!
The flying *Gauls* with Speed the River gain;
Confusion reigns around - - - and wild *Amaze,*
And *Death* sits silent o'er the Heaps of Slain!
While *Maine* affrighted in his oozy Bed
The dying with the Dead in Crowds receives,
Hears the mix'd Tumult rolling o'er his Head,
And feels the purple Stream pollute his Waves:
Atoning Blood! - - - - that from his verdant Shore
Shall drive the treacherous *Gaul,* to vex his Peace no more!

XIII.

But how, blest *Sov'reign!* shall th' unpractic'd Muse
These recent Honours of thy Reign rehearse!
How to thy *Virtues* turn her dazzled Views,
Or consecrate thy Deeds in equal Verse!
Amidst the Field of Horrors wide display'd,
How paint the *Calm*[12] that smil'd upon thy Brow!
Or speak that *Thought* which every Part survey'd,
*"Directing where the Rage of War should glow**:
While watchful *Angels* hover'd round thy Head,
And *Victory* on high the *Palm* of *Glory* spread.

XIV.

Nor *Royal* YOUTH reject the artless Praise,
Which due to Worth like thine the Muse bestows,
Who with prophetic Extasy surveys
These early Wreaths of *Fame* adorn thy Brows.
Aspire like NASSAU in the glorious Strife,
Keep thy great SIRE's Examples full in Eye;

---

[12]The King gave his Orders with the utmost Calmness, tho' no Body more expos'd.

*Inspir'd repuls'd Batallions to engage
And taught the doubtful Battle where to rage.
Mr. *Addison's Campaign.*

But oh for BRITAIN's Sake consult a Life,
The noblest Triumphs are too mean to buy:
And while you purchase *Glory* - - - bear in Mind,
A *Prince*'s truest Fame, is to protect Mankind.

XV.

Alike in Arts and Arms acknowledg'd great,
Let STAIR accept the Lays he *once* could own!
Nor CARTERET, thou the Column of the State!
The Friend of Science! on the Labour frown!
Nor shall, unjust to foreign Worth, the *Muse*
In Silence *Austria*'s valiant Chiefs conceal;
While AREMBERG's heroic Line she views,
And NEIPERG's Conduct strikes even Envy pale:
Names, *Gallia* yet shall further learn to fear,
And BRITAIN, grateful still, shall treasure up as dear!

XVI.

Go busy Fame, to *Augsbourg*'s Towers convey,
The News of what BRITANNIA's King has done;
And thus to the *Imperial Exile* say,
"Are such the boasted Honours thou[18] hast won?
"Unhappy Prince - - - the *Dupe* of faithless *Gaul*,
"What Sorrows have the fatal Union crown'd!
"Thrice has devouring War consum'd thy All,
"And Desolation spread thy Realms around!
"Awake! - - - unseal thy Eyes! - - - nor still rely,
"On a perfidious Pow'r - - - no Leagues could ever tye!

XVII.

Or if thou bend thy Flight to proud *Versailles*,
In *Lewis*'s astonish'd Ear relate,
That before *Britain*'s King retires *Noailles*,
Unwilling to sustain a *Tallard*'s Fate!

---

[18]The unhappy *Charles* VII. has had abundant Time and Cause to reflect on the Miseries a *French* Alliance has brought on his Dominions, and how fatal it has been to his Electoral House.

Then bid the *mighty Monarch* timely yet
From *Germany* his shatter'd *Legions* call,
His visionary Schemes of Empire quit,
And leave in Quiet the distracted Ball:
E're *George,* victorious *George,* from distant *Maine,*
Chastis'd Ambition drive, behind the Banks of *Seine.*

XVIII.

And thou fair *Queen* adorn'd with every Charm,
That Reverence or Affection can inspire,
In whose Defence even savage Nations arm,
And force disarm'd Invasion to retire!
Unshaken Princess! while with graceful Pride
You smile, - - - as the proud Foe repell'd withdraws,
While Heav'n and BRITAIN combat on thy Side,
And BELGIA arms to aid thy righteous Cause:
A Cause! than which a juster never joyn'd
Nations ally'd in Arms - - - - the Cause of human Kind!

XIX.

But oh! acknowledg'd Victor in the Field,
What thanks, *dread Sovereign,* shall thy Toils reward!
Such Honours as deliver'd Nations yield,
Such for thy Virtues justly stand prepar'd:
When *'erst* on *Oudenarde's* decisive Plain,
Before thy Youth, the *Gaul* defeated fled,
The Eye of Fate,[14] foresaw on distant *Maine,*
The *Laurels now* that shine around thy Head:
Oh should entwin'd with these fresh *Olives* Bloom!
Thy *Triumphs* then would shame, the Pride of antient ROME.

---

[14]His *Majesty* early distinguished himself as a Voluntier at the Battle of *Oudenarde,* in 1708; and the present signal Advantage obtain'd by his victorious Arms, gives us Room to hope they will procure us a solid Peace, or a successful War.

XX.

Mean Time, while from this *fair Event* we view
That *British* Valour happily survives,
And cherish'd by the KING's propitious View,
The rising Plant of Glory sweetly thrives!
Let all domestic Faction learn to cease,
Till humbled, *Gaul* no more the World alarms,
Till GEORGE procures to *Europe* solid Peace,
A Peace secur'd by his victorious Arms:
And binds in Iron Fetters to his Car,
Ambition, Rapine, Havock, and *Despair,*
With all the ghostly Fiends of desolating War.

FINIS.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE NOVELS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT

By Mody C. Boatright

Though Scott did not compose his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* until he had worked out the more profitable veins of his ore, they concern a subject which had fascinated him from his youth. He had spent years in gathering and mastering what Lockhart speaks of as "perhaps the most curious library of *diablerie* that man ever collected."[1] Scott's mastery of this library bore its richest fruit, not in the *Letters*,[1a] which came in 1830, after Scott's physical and mental decline, but in the novels, where Scott, living in the nineteenth century, found not only means of picturing vividly the beliefs of the past, but also, as Professor Hugh Walker has observed, "a sort of gateway for the awful and supernatural, which can no longer be introduced by the older device of witchcraft."[2] This paper is a study of how Scott employed the lore of witchcraft in his double capacity of artist and student of *Culturgeschichte*.

Scott in 1827 made the following entry in his journal:

> July 22—Rose a little later than usual and wrote a letter to Mrs. Joanna Baillie. She is writing a tragedy on witchcraft. I shall be curious to see it. Will it be real witchcraft—the *ipsissimus diabolus*—or an imposter, or the half-crazed being who believes herself an ally

---

[1]John Gibson Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Boston, 1901, IV, 118.

[1a]That is, from a literary point of view. Mr. Lewis Spence, the only anthropologist of note whose judgment on the *Letters* I have found recorded, has high praise for the work. He writes ("Sir Walter Scott as a Student of Tradition," in *Sir Walter Scott To-day*, edited by H. J. C. Grierson, London, 1933, p. 123): *"The Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* are so many doors opening on the treasure-house of a life-time's gleaning, and, Lockhart's criticism notwithstanding, nothing they contain in the richness of their hoard is more astonishing than the superior insight distinguishing the accompanying comment."

[2]Hugh Walker, *Three Centuries of Scottish Literature*, Glasgow, 1893, II, 230.

of condemned spirits and desires to be so? That last is a sublime subject (II, 10).

Scott himself created witches of the second and third types mentioned, and drew characters the reality of whose witchcraft he left in poetic uncertainty; but he also drew on his knowledge of witchcraft in other ways.

Often he makes effective use of withered hags who are not even charged with witchcraft, but in whose lineaments the feature of the traditional witch are clearly discernible. They may be active agents in the plot, or they may serve chiefly as stage property. This is true, for example, of the three old women who in the opening scene of *The Surgeon's Daughter* "might be observed plying their aged limbs through the single street of the village of Middlemas towards the honoured door, which, fenced off from the vulgar causeway, was defended by broken palings, inclosing two slips of ground, half arable, half overrun with an abortive attempt at shrubbery" (p. 30).[3] The old women are not witches, and they are merely rushing to secure employment as nurses, but they recall a famous meeting on the blasted heath near Forres. More definitely witch-like is Elspeth in *The Antiquary,* whose function in the plot is to clear up certain secrets concerning the chief personages. Oldbuck and Hector find her "sitting 'ghastly on the hearth, . . . wrinkled, tattered, vile, dim-eyed, discolored, torpid' " (p. 405). She dies without religious hope, in her delirium answering the call of her deceased, wicked mistress, with whom she has been associated in crime. Of the same type are Hannah Irwin and the old woman with whom she lodged in *St. Ronan's Well.* The latter especially exhibits the misanthropy usually associated with witches, by her refusal to admit Clara to her hut. She was one whose heart "adversity had turned to stone," and who was "impelled by a

[3]References to the *Waverley Novels* are to the edition of P. F. Collier and Sons, New York, n. d. The text of the Collier edition is that of the *Dryburgh Edition,* A. and C. Black, London, 1892. *The Surgeon's Daughter* was printed first in the volume entitled *Castle Dangerous.*

general hatred of the race" (p. 462). The most vivid character of this type, however, is Ulrica in *Ivanhoe*. She is a witch in everything but the compact with Satan and the consequent supernatural power. Prematurely old and ugly, and inured to crime herself, she hated Rebecca for being young and beautiful. Her chief comfort is that in dying "we leave behind us on earth those who shall be as wretched as ourselves" (p. 259). She is so repulsive that Cedric orders her out of his presence, using the witch formula: "I bid thee avaunt!" (p. 290). Although she says nothing of a compact, she sees no hope for herself in Christian redemption, and dies chanting a pagan rhyme. As she appears on the turret of the burning castle, her long, dishevelled grey hair flying back from her uncovered head, the inebriating delight of vengeance contending in her eyes with the fire of insanity (p. 354), she suggests an evil spirit, with witch-like exterior, hovering over hell.

Another class of characters involving witchcraft are those who are suspected of sorcery or formally charged with it, but who themselves make no pretense to supernatural powers. A situation growing out of a charge of this sort may be treated either comically or pathetically. The former treatment is exemplified in *Waverley,* where old Janet Gellatley is suspected on "the infallible grounds that she was very old, very ugly, very poor, and had two sons, one of whom was a poet and the other a fool" (p. 120). She is imprisoned for a week, tortured into a confession, and is being tried by a synod of Presbyterian divines. By exclaiming that the Evil One is in the midst of the assembly, she breaks up the trial.

The pathetic case of Rebecca is too well known to require review here. Less spectacular, because related with more restraint, but more penetrating, is the suffering of Madge Wildfire at the hands of a mob in *The Heart of Midlothian.* The infuriated villagers, after Meg Murdockson has been executed and is beyond the reach of their resentment, turn on her crazed daughter, and "swim" her in the Eden to determine whether she is a witch. Madge dies as a result of the exposure and ill-treatment.

More often the persons who make no claims to witchcraft are not brought to an accounting. When Elshie in *The Black Dwarf* builds his house on ill-famed Mucklestane Moor, he is immediately associated with sorcery, and he himself encourages the popular conception of his character. He tells fortunes and gives advice on diseases of men and cattle and on the affairs of the heart. Hobbie Elliott goes to this "warlock" to secure aid in recovering his stolen property and his abducted *fiancée.* Elshie causes Hobbie's property to be restored and his sweetheart to be rescued, but his means, it is always clear, are natural. He affects witchcraft because he delights in gloating over the superstitious fears of his countrymen.

Suggestions of a different aspect of witchcraft are frequent in the treatment of Meg Murdockson in *The Heart of Midlothian.* This woman commands no supernatural powers, and stands rather for those malicious hags who, Scott thought, were the witches of sacred history.[4] Some of these suggestions come through the insane prattle of Madge:

> "Hear till her," said Madge. "But I'll wun out a gliff the night for a' that, to dance in the moonlight, when her and the gudeman will be whirrying through the blue lift on a broomshank, to see Jean Jap, that they hae putten intill the Kirkcaldy tolbooth; ay, they will hae a merry sail ower Inchkeath, and ower a' the bits o' bonny waves that are poppling and plashing against the rocks in the gowden glimmer o' the moon, ye ken" (p. 224).

On one occasion she thus addresses the horse upon which she and her mother are riding: "Come naggie, trot awa', man, an as thou wert a broomstick, for a witch rides thee" (p. 337). Again, in camp Meg is described "seated by the charcoal fire with the reflection of the red light on her withered and distorted features, marked by every evil passion," as the "very picture of Hecate at her infernal rites" (p. 342). It was Meg's destiny to die on the scaffold, not for sorcery, but for having taken "an active part" in an "atrocious robbery and murder" (p. 555). The mob, however, which glories in her death rejoices not because a

---

[4] *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft,* pp. 53 ff.

murderess has been extinguished, but because another witch has gone to her master.

Scott here introduces a communal chorus, which was one of his most effective devices in dealing with the supernatural:

> "She has gone to ho master, with ho's name in her mouth," said another. "Shame the country should be harried wi' Scotch witches and Scotch bitches this gate; but I say hang and drown."
>
> "Ay, ay Gaffer Tramp, take awa yealdon, take awa low; hang the witch, and there will be less scathe amang us; mine owsen hae been reckan this towmont."
>
> "Silence wi' your fule tongues, ye churls," said an old woman who hobbled past them as they stood talking near the carriage; "this was nae witch, but a bluidy-fingered thief and murderess."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Ay, ay, neighbour," said Gaffer Tramp, "seest thou how one witch will speak for t'other—Scots or English, the same to them."
>
> His companion shook his head and replied . . . , "Ay, ay, when a Sark-foot wife gets on her broom-stick, the dames of Allonby are ready to mount, just as sure as the bye-word gangs o' the hills" (pp. 465, 466).

In Meg Murdockson Scott presents the criminal as witch. In Magdalen Graeme, in *The Abbot,* he presents the religious fanatic as witch. Magdalen's abstracted demeanor and mystic language were enough to fix upon her the suspicion of the vulgar, a suspicion which she was willing to encourage if she might thereby further the cause nearest her heart, that of a Catholic restoration in Scotland. She prescribed remedies, was reputed to be a prophetess, and at one time was in danger of being tried for sorcery. Her willingness to be suspected grew out of the conditions of the time, which made it safer for her to be thought a witch than to be thought what she was, a plotter for the Catholic cause.

Some of the suspected persons in Scott's novels turn their evil reputations to gain. The cleverest of these imposters is Wayland Smith in *Kenilworth,* a character based on the old legend of Wayland the Invisible Horse-shoer. Smith had been a disciple of the charlatan Alasco. Having detected the frauds of his master, he abandoned alchemy and set up as

a farrier; but because of this former connection with Alasco, he had difficulty in securing customers. He met the situation by playing upon the credulity of the peasantry. He took into partnership an urchin of the village, whom he called "Flibbertigibbet." This lad would guide the customer to the vale where Smith's forge was concealed in a cave. He would then direct the customer to tie his horse at a certain spot and place his fee on a certain stone. The boy would then signal, and he and the customer would withdraw, to return later and find the horse shod and the money gone.

More impressive than Smith, who is a comic character, is Elspat MacTavish in *The Highland Widow*. Whatever comes to this woman as a result of her supposed witchcraft comes through the fear of her curse, and not from any service rendered. After she had been the cause of the death of her son, she withdrew to her mean hut near a large tree and became known as the Woman of the Tree. Ill luck was supposed to attend those who approached too near the tree, even long after she was dead. We are told that:

> If . . . Elspat was repelled when she demanded anything necessary for her wants, or the accommodation of her little flock, by the churlish farmer, her threats of vengeance, obscurely expressed, yet terrible in their tenor, used frequently to extort, through fear of her malediction, the relief which was denied her necessities; and the trembling goodwife who gave meal or money to the widow of MacTavish Mhor wished in her heart that the stern old carline had been burnt on the day her husband had his due (pp. 472, 473).[5]

If, however, Elspat had the power to bring harm by malediction, there is no recorded instance of her using it except against her own son. She had wanted him to follow the profession of his father, that of cateran, and when he went away to enlist in the army of the Hanoverian king, she addressed him in the following language:

> "Stay, I command you . . . , stay or may the gun you carry be the means of your ruin—may the road you are going be the track of your funeral" (p. 476).

---

[5]In the volume entitled *The Betrothed.*

It was the gun that he carried which he afterwards used to slay his comrade, and it was the road that he was traveling that led to the scene of his execution. Scott leaves the supernaturalism of the curse and its fulfillment without comment. There is no evidence that Elspat, or any of the other characters so far considered, believed herself endowed with supernatural power.

This is not true of another group of women whom Scott introduced into the *Waverley Novels*. It will be recalled that, in the journal entry quoted at the beginning of this discussion Scott wrote of "the half-crazed being who believes herself an ally of condemned spirits and desires to be so" as a "sublime subject." In the *Waverley Novels* he has introduced two such beings, to whose characterization he devoted considerable care.

The more famous of these is Meg Merrilies, an important force in the action of *Guy Mannering*. Essentially she is a protector of the hero. A gipsy spae-wife, she had at his birth tried his fortune, predicting the outlines of his life as they are revealed in the subsequent action. But despite her love for the hero, she came to regard herself as the cause of his misfortunes. For political reasons the Laird expelled the gipsies from his estate. In her indignation Meg cried out:

> "Ye have riven the thack off seven cottar houses; look if you ain roof-tree stand the faster. . . .
>
> "Ride your ways, Ellangowan. Our bairns are hinging at our weary backs; look that your braw cradle at hame be the fairer spread up; not that I am wishing ill to little Harry, or to the babe that's yet to be born—God forbid—and make them kind to the poor, and better folk than their father!" (p. 79).

When Harry is kidnapped, Meg superstitiously connects this event and other misfortunes of the house with her anathema, and she dedicates the remainder of her life to the restoration of the heir.

She is able to restore Harry's inheritance primarily because she is in possession of the secret of his kidnapping and has the means of identifying him; and, though her reputation for witchcraft stands her in good stead, her

means of extricating the hero are purely natural, and Scott does not, even for purposes of suspense, suggest that they are not. Being under sentence of banishment, she must of necessity move in secret, but her movements are accounted for. Before she returns to the Ellangowan estate, she expresses her determination to serve the hero, and the reader is not surprised to find her there. She makes a prophecy, and it is fulfilled; she curses a house, and it falls. She herself regards her curse as supernatural. Upon her return, she says:

> "Here I stood on this very spot . . . ; here I stood when I tauld the last Laird of Ellangowan what was to come on his house; and did that fa' to the ground? Na, it hit even ower sair!" (pp. 376, 377).

And upon her death-bed she confesses:

> "I am a sinfu' woman; but if my curse brought it down, my blessing has taen it off!" (p. 454).

Meg Merrilies is a demented gipsy woman who comes to think of herself, first as one having the power to curse, and then as an instrument of fate. She may be the instrument which she conceives herself to be, for she was privy to the destiny of the house and of the hero; but if so, the fate whose tool she is employs only natural means.

A rôle somewhat similar to that of Meg Merrilies is that played in *The Pirate* by Norna of Fitful Head, "the most fearful woman in all the isles." Her function in the plot is not to restore a house which she has cursed; it is to mitigate the severity of the fate which Mourdant Merton brings upon himself by saving a drowning man. She claims supernatural powers, performing her "part with such undoubting confidence . . . that it would have been difficult for the greatest sceptic to have doubted the reality of her enthusiasm, though he might smile at the pretensions to which it gave rise" (p. 72). This "enthusiasm" had been of long duration. By disobeying her father she had unwittingly caused his death. She had erected her offense into a crime of the first magnitude, even imagining that she had trafficked with spirits, — not Satan, indeed, but with the

"drows," fairy-like creatures of the North, and with the old deities of Norse mythology.

Norna's claims are extensive. Her ability to influence weather is several times alluded to, and the reader is allowed one demonstration. She watches a storm for several minutes, then begins an incantation, which gradually becomes more subdued in its cadence, the storm abating as the song subsides. She professes to command the local genii with which, according to Zetland superstition, the islands were haunted. It was said of her that "she kens a'thing that happens in these islands . . . muckle sooner than other folk, and that is Heaven's truth" (p. 305). Her movements are a mystery to the uneducated. "Wha kens how she travels?" asks Swertha, the serving woman.

Norma is not, however, a supernatural character. I agree with Scott (introduction to the 1831 edition) that anyone who will "take the trouble of reading *The Pirate* with some attention" will see in her "the victim of remorse and insanity, and the dupe of her own imposture, her mind, too, flooded with all the weird literature and extravagant superstition of the north." Scott, indeed, leaves some of her exploits unexplained, but he accounts for a sufficient number of them to reveal her technique. "I heard you sing . . . and I saw the tempest abate," said Mourdant. But Norna examined the cloud carefully before she began her incantation, and "it was not improbable that the issue had been for some time foreseen by the pythoness" (p. 78). She "made herself familiarly and practically acquainted with all the secret passages and recesses, whether natural or artificial, which she could hear of . . . , and was, by such knowledge, often enabled to perform feats which were otherwise unaccountable" (p. 454).

Scott admitted that there was "great improbability" in "the statement of Norna's possessing power and opportunity to impress on others that belief in her supernatural gifts which distracted her own mind. Yet," he continues in the 1831 introduction, "amid a very credulous and ignorant population, it is astonishing what success may be attained by an imposter who is, at the same time, an enthusiast."

The improbability to which Scott refers exists only for readers devoid of historic imagination. The general atmosphere which Scott pictures as surrounding an isolated agricultural and fishing people untouched by the rising science of the seventeenth century is ample explanation of Tronda's advising her master to "say an *oraamus* to St. Ronald and fling a saxpence ower [his] shoulter" (p. 82) after Norna has been in the house; of the pedlar's reluctance to pronounce her name (p. 216); of old men's asking that their sons be remembered at sea (p. 455);[6] and of old women's blessing themselves as she passes (p. 456).

In the introduction to the 1831 edition of *The Pirate* Scott protested that those critics who saw in Norna a mere copy of Meg Merrilies had not read attentively; and he had some grounds for the protest. Each is a demented creature sincerely claiming supernatural powers. Each displays her gifts of prophecy, and each has a prophecy fulfilled. Each is friendly to the hero, and mitigates the severity of an announced fate. But there are also differences. Meg is an ignorant gipsy whose claims extend no further than fortune-telling and the command of a few charms. After her curse has apparently brought ruin upon the Bertram family, she thinks of herself as an instrument of destiny, and thinking herself such an instrument, she becomes one. Norna, on the other hand, is a woman of birth and education. Meg's delusion proceeds from a simple-minded acceptance of the traditions of her tribe. She executes her plans by good fortune and native shrewdness. Norna's dementia grows out of a parental disobedience which a tendency toward monomania has magnified into a heinous crime. The superstitions of her country and the books she has read give form and content to her mental disorder. Her plans are executed with studied thoroughness, and her claims are far more pretentious: she even threatens her gods with compulsion. Norna is the more ambitious and lofty conception,

[6]According to Sir James George Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, one-volume edition, New York, 1922, p. 81), "Shetland seamen still buy winds in the shape of knotted handkerchiefs or threads from old women who claim to rule the storms."

but Meg, being more human and less threatrical, will probably remain the favorite among readers of Scott.

Scott's use of "real" witchcraft (but perhaps it is only apparent witchcraft) is confined to *The Bride of Lammermoor,* in which witches, next to old prophecy, constitute the most important agency through which the fates of the characters are announced.

Blind Alice is approaching the close of a long life on the Ravenswood estate, now under a new lord. She is the "best authority" on the traditions of the old Ravenswood family (p. 58). Lucy Ashton observes that, although Alice is blind, "she has some way of looking into your very heart" (p. 58). She warns Ashton that Edgar Ravenswood is not a man to be persecuted. "My lord," she says, "take care what you do; you are on the brink of a precipice" (p. 59). Knowing the enmity between the Ravenswood and the Ashton families, she is profoundly astonished to find Edgar and Lucy together:

> "Young man, he who aims at revenge by dishonorable means—"
>
> "Be silent, woman!" said Ravenswood, sternly; "is it the devil that prompts your voice? Know that this young lady has not on earth a friend who would venture farther to save her from injury or from insult."
>
> "And is it even so?" said the old woman in an altered but melancholy tone, "then God help you both!" (p. 207).

And she goes on to speak of "either . . . fatal revenge or . . . still more fatal love" (p. 209). Edgar offers her gold to appease her wrath. "In the slight struggle attending his wish to force it upon her, it dropped to the earth":

> "Let it remain an instant on the ground," said Alice, as the master stooped to raise it; "and believe me, that piece of gold is an emblem of her whom you love; she is as precious, I grant, but you must stoop even to abasement before you can win her. For me, I have as little to do with gold as with earthly passions; and the best news that the world has in store for me is, that Edgar Ravenswood is an hundred miles distant from the seat of his ancestors, with the determination never again to behold it" (p. 210).

It is this very coin which Edgar and Lucy afterwards break as a symbol of their fatal troth (p. 217).

It is clear that Alice is aware of the fate which hangs over Ravenswood and Lucy. The source of her information is treated with poetic indefiniteness. Her acquaintance with three generations of Ravenswoods gives her a thorough knowledge of the family temper. She is quick to apprehend Lucy's love for Edgar. "A thousand circumstances have proved it to me," she says (p. 211). The uneducated think her a witch, a charge which she neither affirms nor denies. When she hears Henry Ashton say that she should have been burned at Haddington, her reply is, "If the usurer, and the oppressor, and the grinder of the poor man's face, and the remover of ancient landmarks, and the subverter of ancient houses, were at the same stake with me, I could say, 'light the fire in God's name' " (p. 208). She does claim extraordinary, though not necessarily supernatural power of looking into the future, for she tells Edgar, "If my mortal sight is closed to objects present with me, it may be that I can look with more steadiness into future events" (p. 209). She makes no use of images, mirrors, crystals, or other devices of soothsaying. Whatever her powers, whatever the sources of her information, she is clearly the mouthpiece of fate.

Three other old women, unlike Alice in that they are wholly repulsive, function in the story as a witch chorus. As Professor Wilmon Brewer observes,[7] these old hags appear after the climax and deliver only fate's minor decrees." But they heighten tremendously the tragic effect.

The first appearance of the chorus of witches was upon the death of Alice. Ravenswood had found her dead and was watching by the corpse until help should come from the village. The three hags reached Alice's hut "sooner than he could reasonably have expected, considering the distance betwixt the hut . . . and the village, and the age and infirmities of the three old women" (p. 258). They saluted Ravenswood with a "ghastly smile, which reminded him of the meeting between Macbeth and the witches on the

---

[7]Wilmon Brewer, *Shakespeare's Influence on Sir Walter Scott*, Boston, 1925, p. 283.

blasted heath near Forres" (pp. 258, 259). He was glad to quit a "company so evil-omened and so odious" (p. 259), but he could not help overhearing the following "croaking" dialogue concerning his own fate:

"That's a fresh and full-grown hemlock, Annie Winnie; mony a cummer lang syne wad hae sought nae better horse to flee over hill and how, through mist and moonlight, and light down in the King of France's cellar."

"Ay cummer!" but the very deil had turned as hard hearted now as the Lord Keeper and the grit folk, that hae breasts like whinstanes. They prick us and pine us, and they pit us on pinnywinkles for witches; and, if I say my prayers backwards ten times ower, Satan will never gie me amends o' them."

"Did ye ever see the foul thief?" asked her neighbour.

"Na!" replied the other spokeswoman: "but I trow I hae dreamed of him mony a time, and I think the day will come they will burn me for't." . . .

"He's a frank man, and a free-handed man, the Master," said Annie Winnie, "and a comely personage—broad in the shoulters, and narrow around the lunyies. He wad mak a bonny corpse; I wad like to hae the streiking and winding o' him."

"It is written on his brow, Annie Winnie," replied the octogenarian, her companion, "that the hand of woman, or of man either, will never straught him; dead-deal will never be laid on his back, make your market of that, for I hae it from a sure hand."

"Will it be his lot to die on the battle-grounnd, then, Ailsie Gourlay? Will he die by the sword or by the ball, as his forbears hae dune before him, many ane o' them?"

"Ask nae mair questions about it—he'll no be graced sae far," replied the sage.

"I ken ye are wiser than ither folk, Ailsie Gourlay. But wha tell'd ye this?"

"Flashna your thumb about that, Annie Winnie," answered the sibyl. "I hae it from a hand sure eneugh."

"But ye said ye never saw the foul thief," reiterated her inquisitive companion.

"I hae it frae as sure a hand," said Ailsie, "and frae them that spaed his fortune before the sark gaed ower his head."

"Hark! I hear his horse's feet riding aff," said the other; "they dinna sound as if good luck was wi' them."

"Mak haste, sirs," cried the paralytic hag from the cottage, "and let us do what is needfu' and say what is fitting; for if the dead corpse binna straughted, it will girn and thraw, and that will fear the best o' us" (pp. 260–261).

The three come on the stage again at the marriage of Lucy and Bucklaw, and take their place among the poor who have assembled in the churchyard to receive the wedding dole. After the hags have complained about the inferiority of their portions, they reveal, in a dialogue similar to the one above, the fate of the bride. Four days later they gather at Lucy's funeral, and there engage in their "wonted unhallowed conference," the third one, the burden of which is their pleasure in the death of Lucy, and in the fact that "ane of the company," Ravenswood, will "no be lang for this world." Thus from their introduction to the catastrophe, these three hags are ever hovering in the background of the action, and give to *The Bride of Lammermoor* an atmosphere of supernatural tragedy that would be lacking without them.

Moreover, the chief of these hags, Ailsie Gourlay, had been instrumental in bringing about Lucy's insanity, and perhaps had natural grounds for predicting the early death of the bride. Dame Gourlay was sometimes called the "Wise Woman of Boden" (p. 319). She had a considerable reputation for skill in healing, in which art she employed herbs selected in planetary hours. In private she traded more deeply in the occult sciences. She "spaed fortunes, read dreams, composed philtres, discovered stolen goods, and made and dissolved matches as successfully as if, according to the belief of the whole neighbourhood, she had been aided by Beelzebub himself" (p. 320). She claimed her power, however, not from that prince, but from a "harmless fairy" (pp. 319, 320). This old woman, repulsive in appearance, vindictive in disposition, and obscene in mind, preyed upon Lucy's worries and fears and gradually deprived her of her reason. She convinced Lucy that there was a fate on her attachment to Ravenswood. She expounded her dreams, and professed to show by a mirror that Edgar had bestowed his affections elsewhere.

In treating Ailsie Gourlay and her companions, Scott exemplifies the same indefiniteness we have seen in his treatment of Alice. He neither affirms nor denies their supposed supernatural powers, and Ailsie is the only one

who lays claim to them. Her control of Lucy, Scott explains, is to be accounted for by rational psychology. But, wherever the hags go, they pollute the atmosphere and cause a general shuddering. Whether or not they are witches conscious of supernatural powers, they are the agents of fate, whose decrees they announce.[8]

Let us now look at our subject as a whole.

One of the most obvious generalizations we can make is that in his prose fiction Scott put the traditions of witchcraft to a variety of uses. They were traditions which the author of the *Waverley Novels* in his capacity as historical novelist could not ignore, and on numerous occasions witchcraft is alluded to apparently for no other reason than to make more nearly complete the picture of the past. As artist, however, Scott knew how to turn the materials of the witchcraft tradition to the uses of comedy, of pathos, and of tragedy. The former is of least importance. Humor occurs in numerous passing references to the belief in witchcraft, in the scene in *Guy Mannering* where Sampson comes upon Meg cooking a pot of stew which he imagines must be hell-broth, and in the report of a witch trial in *Waverley*. More generally, however, witchcraft is a source of pathos or of tragedy, as in *The Heart of Midlothian, The Bride of Lammermoor,* and *The Highland Widow.*

Scott introduces various types of witch-like characters. An impressive group of such characters is that of the withered and malicious hags, who, though not accused of witchcraft, seem to exude evil. Famous among the examples is Ulrica in *Ivanhoe,* whose affinity with the devil is symbolized by her death-scene, where she is shown hovering

---

[8]Professor Brewer (*op. cit.*, p. 283) says: "Moreover, unless when Ailsie Gourlay announces repeatedly in regard to her messages, 'I have it from a sure hand,' we are to suppose that she means the Devil they work without supernatural power." There seem to me to be two other possibilities. She may refer to the fairy, not mentioned until chapter XXXI. But since she uses this phrase only in relation to her prophecies concerning Ravenswood, she may refer to Thomas the Rhymer, whose doleful lines about the last Laird of Ravenswood both she and Caleb know.

over a burning castle like a fiend over hell. Many characters obviously innocent are suspected of witchcraft. The types so suspected are numerous, but most of them are unusual in some way: they are religious fanatics, glee-maidens, criminals, dwarfs, and the like. There are several imposters who do not believe themselves endowed with supernatural powers. Only one of these characters, Wayland Smith in *Kenilworth,* can we admire for his cleverness. Two of Scott's witches, Meg Merrilies in *Guy Mannering* and Norna in *The Pirate,* are demented creatures who sincerely believe themselves possessed of the powers they claim. Old women in one work, *The Bride of Lammermoor,* seem to be real witches, but their treatment is such as to make a categorical statement impossible. The only witch the reality of whose witchcraft is asserted is one occurring in an old legend embodied in *The Black Dwarf.* Scott often allows supernaturalism in old legends told as such which he would not allow in the plot proper.

Other specific devices than the old legend used in Scott's presentation of witchcraft are what I shall call the communal chorus and the witch chorus. The former is exemplified in *The Heart of Midlothian,* where a group of villagers comment on the hanging of Meg Murdockson, and in several other novels. The latter is brought to a high state of artistic development in *The Bride of Lammermoor,* where three withered hags gather on three different occasions to comment on the action and to announce the approaching doom of the chief personages in the story.

Besides acting as a chorus, the witch-like characters may perform various functions in the plot. In *The Surgeon's Daughter* they serve merely as stage scenery. Meg and Norna are indispensable agents in the plots, and the former thinks herself, and may be considered, a chosen instrument of destiny. It is Alice's function in *The Bride of Lammermoor* to announce the fate of the chief characters. After the warning is disregarded, she drops out of the action. Ailsie Gourlay has a part in the bringing on of Lucy's insanity. But in every case where a witch-like character influences the action, she does so by natural means. Scott

is careful to show how Elshie recovers Hobbie's property and to explain that Lucy's insanity is not due to bewitchment.

In his treatment of witchcraft, Scott is usually careful to build up an appropriate atmosphere. He reminds us that Butler lived in an age when laws against witchcraft were in force and had recently been acted upon. In *The Pirate* he brings in numerous minor superstitions to show that to the inhabitants of Zetland the external world was an unfriendly, mysterious, and capricious place. *The Bride of Lammermoor* opens with a funeral. Omens are mentioned, and fate is talked about. Unfortunately, however, Scott, at one point in the story, allows the foolery of Caleb, which he had introduced for relief, to continue too long. But, in general, witchcraft in Scott is accompanied by an appropriate atmosphere.

I have noted that witch-like characters work by natural means. Usually it is clear to the reader at the time that the means are natural. But when witch-like characters deliver prophecy, the information seems to come from a supernatural source. Meg foretold the fall of the Ellangowans and the troubles of the hero. Alice knew that the love of Edgar and Lucy would be fatal. Ailsie knew that no woman or man would have the winding of Ravenswood's body. There is no explanation of how they came by the information.

Witch-like characters, especially Meg and Norna, who have important parts in the action, may be kept a great deal before the reader, but not in their supernatural capacities. When Alice's message has been emphatically delivered, she dies, her ghost lingering a moment for a final warning. The witch chorus is limited to three appearances.

Witch-like characters may be definitely described as to personal appearance, or only generally characterized. An epithet like "leathern chops" may suffice. But there is about the character an element of mystery, indicated by the attitude of other characters toward her. Even Guy Mannering thinks Meg a remarkable woman. But chiefly Scott attains the indefiniteness which he thought essential to the artistic

use of the supernatural by so treating the characters that it is impossible to say categorically whether they are witches or not. This is not true, of course, of the persons clearly pictured as innocently accused and of imposters.

In his treatment of witchcraft Scott adhered to the traditions of his country. He followed the popular tradition more closely than the theological one. His witches are not all evil. Meg and Norna in the working out of the plots align themselves on the side of moral order. Alice attempts to show others how evil may be averted. Some of the witches in Scott's novels, then, are "white witches." Again Scott followed the popular tradition by allowing two of his witches to claim power from fairies, or other spirits than evil ones.

I do not know of any body of fiction which deals more satisfactorily with the sociological aspects of witchcraft than the *Waverley Novels*. The treatment, however, is incomplete in that it contains no instance of unjust legal condemnation. It is true that Madge Wildfire dies at the hands of a mob, but innocent people legally accused escape punishment. In his studies of the deluded witch Scott was successful in the relatively simple Meg Merrilies, but when he essayed the more complex psychology of Norna, he attempted what was not his forte. Scott is at his best when dealing with relatively simple characters like Jeanie and Davie Deans, Balfour of Burley, or Mucklebaket. In using witchcraft as an adjunct to tragedy Scott attained a high degree of success. To find an English tragedy of the supernatural more impressive than *The Bride of Lammermoor*, one has to go to Shakespeare; and the superiority of *Macbeth* to *The Bride of Lammermoor* lies not in its treatment of witchcraft, but in its more profound characterization.

AN UNSIGNED POEM BY MIRABEAU LAMAR

By Philip Graham

In *The Texas Republican,* a weekly newspaper printed at Brazoria, Texas, 1834–1836, appear four poems signed "Z." These are "Beauty," "Song," "Give to the Poet His Well Earned Praise," and "Stanzas."[1]

When Mirabeau B. Lamar published his *Verse Memorials,*[2] he included only the last three of these poems. The "Stanzas" of *The Texas Republican,* written in memory of Lamar's first wife, becomes the "Monody" of the *Verse Memorials.* The changes made—all of them in the nature of softened statements—are to be explained by the fact that in the interval between the two publications Lamar had remarried; in a note accompanying the "Monody" he states that the poem is a memorial "of a period of sorrow and suffering whose dark shadows are in sacred contrast with the calm sunshine of his [the poet's] present life."

"Give to the Poet His Well Earned Praise" is reprinted in *Verse Memorials* with only a few changes: the punctuation in the first stanza is changed; there is a slight rearrangement of lines in the second and third stanzas; a fourth stanza is added.

"Song" is a battle piece, intended to arouse the Texans of 1835 in their struggle against Mexico. "Charge, charge, my braves on Cos," Lamar cries. When he revised the poem for *Verse Memorials,* he changed the title to "Arm for the Southern Land," elided the lines having special reference to Texas, and added a stanza on States' Rights. Though the scene is shifted, the song is unaltered.

"Beauty" is the only one of the four poems signed "Z" in *The Texas Republican* not included in Lamar's *Verse Memorials.* It follows:

---

[1]The first in Vol. I (July 4, 1835), 44; the second and third in Vol. II (Oct. 10, 1835), 56; the last in Vol. II (Oct. 24, 1835), 58.

[2]*Verse Memorials,* New York, 1857.

Beauty

Round love's elysian bow'rs
The softest prospects rise,
There bloom the sweetest flow'rs,
There shine the purest skies.

And joy and rapture gild awhile,
The cloudless haven of beauty's smile.

Round love's deserted bow'rs
Tremendous rocks arise,
Cold mildews blight the flow'rs,
Tornadoes rend the skies.

And pleasure's waning moon goes down,
Amid the night of beauty's frown.

Then Youth, thou fond believer,
The wily syren shun,
Who trusts the fair deceiver
Will surely be undone.

When beauty triumphs—ah, beware!
Her smile is hope, her frown despair.[3]

Z.

That Lamar is known to have written three of the poems signed "Z" is not conclusive evidence that he wrote also this fourth one so signed; yet the assumption seems entirely reasonable. The man who was born in the same year as the *Lyrical Ballads* appeared, and who died with the publication of *The Origin of Species* perhaps had the right to compose such verse. In theme, tone, form, and phrasing it is strikingly similar to many of the signed poems of Lamar.[4] The variety of symbols, initials, and names affixed to the poems in *The Texas Republican* precludes the possibility that the editor used the same letter to designate two different poets. "Albano," "A.J.," "X," "Unknown," and others contribute. "H.K." has three poems,[5] all of which are credited to *The*

[3]Quite appropriately, on the same page of *The Republican* appears an advertisement of dueling pistols.

[4]*Cf.* especially "The Marriage Day," "Love and Marriage," and "Introduction," *Verse Memorials*, 187, 153, 19.

[5]"New Yankee Doodle," II (Oct. 31, 1835), 59; "The Texas Volunteers," II (Nov. 14, 1835), 61; "Texas Triumphant," II (Nov. 14, 1835), 61.

New Orleans Bulletin—another fact which indicates that the editor of *The Republican* preserved the identity of his poets.

Lamar came to Texas during the late spring or early summer of 1835. As early as January of that year he was in Alabama *en route* to Texas, and at some time in July he was in Nacogdoches, Texas.[6] There is no evidence that he was in Brazoria when "Beauty" was published (July 4, 1835). It seems most likely, however, that he was in communication with the editor of *The Republican* even before arriving in the state, for a copy of the paper for Dec. 13, 1834, appears among the Lamar papers.[7]

---

[6]*Papers of Lamar* (Austin, 1920), I, p. 193; A. K. Christian, *Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (Austin, 1923), p. 5.

[7]*Papers of Lamar*, I, p. 193.

TWO SOURCES OF POE'S "NARRATIVE OF ARTHUR GORDON PYM"

By D. M. McKeithan

1. A partial source of Poe's *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* which no one has mentioned, so far as I know, is *The Mariner's Chronicle*[1]. That Poe relied on this work is indicated by the following parallel passages:

The Mariner's Chronicle

"*The heel of* the mizenmast being *stepped between decks* (a very unusual case, but probably it was placed there in order *to make more room for stowage in the after-hold*) was likely *to work from its step*, and thereby might do considerable damage to the ship.

"The captain now held a consultation with the officers, when it was deemed expedient to cut the mast away without delay: this was accordingly put into execution the following morning, as soon as the day, made its appearance. *The necessary preparations having been made*, the carpenter began hewing *at the mast*, and quickly made a deep

Arthur Gordon Pym

"The creaking and working of the mainmast, too, gave indication that it was nearly sprung. *To make room for more stowage in the after hold, the heel of* this mast had been *stepped between decks* (a very reprehensible practice, occasionally resorted to by ignorant ship-builders), so that it was in imminent danger of *working from its step*. . . . We endeavored to keep up our spirits, and looked anxiously for daybreak, when we hoped to lighten the brig by cutting away the mainmast.

". . . *The necessary preparations having been made*, Peters cut away *at the mast* (having found axes in the cabin), while

[1]Duncan, Archibald. *The Mariner's Chronicle; Being A Collection of the Most Interesting Narratives of Shipwrecks, Fires, Famines, And other Calamities incident to A Life of Maritime Enterprise; With authentic Particulars of the extraordinary Adventures and Sufferings of the Crews, their Reception and Treatment on distant Shores; and a consise Description of the Country, Customs, and Manners of the Inhabitants: Including an Account of the Deliverance of the Survivors.* In four volumes. Philadelphia, 1806. The catalogue of the British Museum assigns to 1810 an undated London edition of *The Mariner's Chronicle* in six volumes. I have seen only the first two volumes of the London edition. All references are to the Philadelphia edition of 1806, and these references are given merely by volume and page.

The Mariner's Chronicle

wound. Some of the crew were stationed ready to cut away *the stays and lanyards,* whilst the remaining part was anxiously watching the momentary crash which was to ensue: *the word* being *given to cut away the weather-lanyards, as the* ship *gave a lee-lurch, the whole* of the wreck *plunged, without* further *injury, into the* ocean."[2]

Arthur Gordon Pym

the rest of us stood by the *stays and lanyards. As the* brig *gave a* tremendous *lee-lurch, the word* was *given to cut away the weather-lanyards,* which being done, *the whole* mass of wood and rigging *plunged into the* sea, clear of the brig, and *without* doing any material *injury."*[3]

The Mariner's Chronicle, as its complete title indicates, contains scores of accounts of shipwrecks from every conceivable cause and of the almost unbelievable sufferings of the survivors. Many of the ships were wrecked while on whaling voyages, as in *Pym.* It is not easy to determine just how extensively Poe used this source for the reason that, with such a wealth of material before him, he seems to have preferred combining incidents from widely separated parts of the volumes to following closely any single account. In the following paragraphs I attempt to marshal the best evidence of further indebtedness to *The Mariner's Chronicle.*

In *Pym* the first mate and a small band of ruffians mutinied, brutally slaughtered nearly all of the loyal men, and, disregarding the captain's pleadings that they return to their duty, set him and four of the faithful sailors adrift. The mutineers separated into two factions, one desiring to turn pirates, and the other to cruise in the South Seas, the women there being a main attraction. Two accounts of mutinies in *The Mariner's Chronicle* may have given Poe suggestions. In the first,[4] "the mate . . . plotted with the pilot and some of the seamen, to make themselves masters of the ship, for the purpose of piracy." The ship was

---

[2]IV, 52. The italics here and in other parallel passages are mine.

[3]*The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* ed. James A. Harrison, III, 95–96. Since all quotations from *Pym* are from this edition and this volume, henceforth references will be given merely by page.

[4]II, 151–152.

wrecked before the attempt to capture it was made, and the crew was left on two islands with the mate in command while the captain went in a small boat to Batavia to obtain another ship. Meantime the mate planned to seize the ship when the captain arrived with relief, and killed thirty or forty of his companions "whom he suspected to be inimical to his design." The plot was not successful, the mate and his bloody accomplices being hanged. In the second account[5] the captain was surprised in his cabin by mutineers headed by one of the mates and set adrift with some of the crew. The cause of the mutiny was the desire of some of the men to return to one of the islands in the South Seas, where they had formed connections with the women and had been offered possessions by the chiefs. The following parallel is close enough to be of some interest:

The Mariner's Chronicle

"Mr. Bligh frequently remonstrated with his people on the impropriety and violence of their proceedings, and endeavoured to persuade *them to return to their duty;* but all his efforts proved ineffectual: the only reply he could obtain was, 'hold your tongue Sir or you are dead this instant'.

". . . He was then forced *over the side,* and his hands unbound. . . .

"*The boat was* veered *astern,* and soon after cast *adrift,* amidst the ridicule and scoffs of these deluded and unthinking men. . . ."[6]

Arthur Gordon Pym

"He [Captain Barnard] spoke to the men in a voice hardly articulate, entreating *them* not to set him adrift, but *to return to their duty,* and promising to land them wherever they chose, and to take no steps for bringing them to justice. He might as well have spoken to the winds. Two of the ruffians seized him by the arms and hurled him *over the* brig's *side* into the boat. . . . *The boat was* towed *astern* for a few minutes, during which the mutineers held another consultation—it was then finally cut *adrift.*"[7]

Both in *Pym* and in *The Mariner's Chronicle* the survivors often express their gratitude to God. Note these passages:

---

[5]III, 326–329. [6]III, 326–327. [7]Pp. 53–54.

The Mariner's Chronicle

". . . By ten o'clock we *all* met together, when, with grateful hearts, *we returned* humble *thanks to* Providence *for our deliverance from* such *imminent danger*."[8]

Arthur Gordon Pym

"*All* was found to be safe, and *we* did not fail to *return* sincere *thanks to* God *for our deliverance from* the *imminent danger* we had escaped."[9]

Accounts of leaks and attempts to pump the water out are found in *Pym* and in more than half of the narratives of shipwrecks.

The Mariner's Chronicle

"The mate . . . went down into the hold, and discovered not only that the *seams* had opened in several places, but that the ship was so full of *water* as to be gradually sinking."[10]

"At midnight there was five feet six inches water in the ship, and from the motion, it was with difficulty that the men could stand to *the pumps*."[12]

". . . The ship made so much water, that with four pumps and bailing he could not free her; . . . the sea continued so high that the ship in rolling opened all her upper works and seams. . . ."[14]

"The water gaining fast, the people almost tired to death, and the gale increasing, there were now no hopes of saving the ship. . . ."[16]

Arthur Gordon Pym

"The brig took in a great deal of *water* through her *seams*, and one of the pumps was kept continually going. . . ."[11]

"During a part of this evening the leak gained upon the vessel; and little could be done to remedy it, as it was occasioned by the brig's straining, and taking in the water through her seams."[13]

". . . We lay so much along that it was useless to think of working *the pumps*, which indeed we could not have done much longer in any case, as our hands were entirely raw with the excessive labour we had undergone, and were bleeding in the most horrible manner."[15]

---

[8]II, 54. Similar passages occur in *The Mariner's Chronicle*, I, 114, 142, 151; II, 16, 35, 130; III, 92, 127, 137, 190.

[9]P. 68. [10]II, 95. [11]P. 76.

[12]III, 172. [13]P. 77. [14]IV, 63.

[15]Pp. 96–97.

[16]IV, 189. Descriptions of similar situations are found in *The Mariner's Chronicle*, I, 69–70, 154, 162, 200, 234, 303, 307, 312; II, 21, 40, 82–83, 261, 277–278, 296–297, 327; III, 83, 91, 95–96, 207, 210, 300, 303; IV, 52–53, 86, 246, 285–286, 288, 292–293.

The following parallels would also seem to be significant:

The Mariner's Chronicle	*Arthur Gordon Pym*
"All the officers, passengers, and boys . . . had been employed *thrumming a sail,* which was passed *under the* ship's bottom, and I thought had *some* effect."[18]	"*A sail* was *thrummed,* and got *under the* bows, which aided us in *some* measure, so that we began to gain upon the leak."[17]
"Towards the afternoon part of the starboard *bulwark* was carried *away* . . ., [and] a sea broke through the fore-chains, and swept away the *caboose*. . . ."[20]	"The entire range of *bulwarks* to larboard had been swept *away,* as well as the *caboose*. . . ."[19]
". . . It was now *found,* on examination, that she had *seven feet water* in her hold."[21]	"But, to crown all our difficulties, we plummed the well, and *found* no less than *seven feet water.*"[22]
". . . The *sea making breaches* completely *over* her."[23]	". . . Every *sea* now *made* a complete *breach over* us. . . ."[24]
"Every time that I visited the hatch-way I observed *the water* increased, and at noon washed even with the *orlop-deck*. . . ."[25]	"By midnight we had settled very deep in the *water,* which was now up to the *orlop deck.*"[26]
". . . A sudden shift of wind threw the ship into the trough of *the sea,* which struck her aft, *tore away the rudder*. . . ."[27]	"*The rudder* went soon afterward, *the sea* which *tore* it *away* lifting the after portion of the brig entirely from the water. . . ."[28]
"I got myself *lashed to the* bitts. . . . All this time the sea came over *us* in a dreadful manner, so that we could scarcely take breath.	"Luckily, just before night, all four of us had *lashed* ourselves firmly *to the* fragments of the windlass. . . . We were all more or less stunned by the immense

[17]P. 77. [18]I, 205. See also I, 207; IV, 34.
[19]P. 95. [20]IV, 52.
[21]II, 327. The same depth of water is mentioned in II, 21, 297; III, 152.
[22]P. 95. [23]II, 261. [24]P. 97.
[25]I, 208. Water reached the orlop deck in III, 83, 91; IV, 35, 87.
[26]P. 97.
[27]III, 207. Rudders were damaged in I, 69, 201, 222, 234, 312; II, 83, 184, 261, 321, 327; III, 185, 303.
[28]P. 97.

The Mariner's Chronicle	*Arthur Gordon Pym*
". . . About ten, all our men were washed away, excepting those who were *lashed to the* cathead."[29]	weight of water which tumbled upon *us*, and which did not roll from above us until we were nearly exhausted."[30]
"The preservation of the Guardian was attributed chiefly to the *casks* in the hold. . . ."[31]	". . . It being impossible, from the nature of the cargo, that the brig could go down. . . . It was obvious that a vessel with a cargo of empty oil-*casks* would not sink. . . ."[32]
". . . No part of it being above water, excepting the quarter-deck and part of the forecastle, we were usually obliged to purchase such things as were within reach, by large hooks fastened to poles. . . ."[33]	"As the brig was completely full of water, we went to this work despondingly, and with but little expectation of being able to obtain anything. We made a kind of drag, . . . [which] we threw . . . into the cabin, and dragged . . . to and fro. . . ."[34]
"The prospect of a speedy relief from our sufferings *affected* us all *in* a most remarkable *way*. Many *burst into tears*, some looked at each other with a stupid stare, as if doubtful of the reality of what they saw; while several remained in . . . a lethargic state. . . ."[35]	". . . I perceived a large brig bearing down upon us. . . . I sprung to my feet as if a musket bullet had suddenly struck me to the heart; and, stretching out my arms in the direction of the vessel, stood in this manner, motionless, and unable to articulate a syllable. Peters and Parker were equally *affected*, although *in* different *ways*. The former *danced* about the deck like a madman, uttering the most extravagant rhodomontades, intermingled with howls and imprecations, while the latter *burst into tears*. . . ."[37]
"The joy that instantly filled every bosom produced effects as various as extraordinary: one man laughed, another wept, and a third *danced* with transport."[36]	
"With this wretched allowance of a quarter of a pound of beef a day. . . ."[38]	"We concluded to restrict ourselves to about four ounces of the meat per day. . . ."[39]

[29] III, 96–97.
[30] P. 99.
[31] IV, 45. A cargo of lumber kept a water-logged ship afloat in IV, 249–251.
[32] P. 99.
[33] II, 191.
[34] P. 106.
[35] I, 150.
[36] I, 278.
[37] Pp. 109–110.
[38] I, 176.
[39] P. 139.

The Mariner's Chronicle

"A boy, when no other eatables could be found, having picked up the *liver* of one the drowned men, whose carcase had been torn to pieces by the force with which the sea drove it among the rocks, was with much difficulty withheld from making a meal of it."[40]

Arthur Gordon Pym

". . . The bird . . . arose lazily from the body upon which it had been feasting, and, flying directly above our deck, hovered there a while with a portion of clotted and *liver*-like substance in its beak. The horrid morsel dropped. . . . May God forgive me, but now, for the first time, there flashed through my mind a thought, a thought which I will not mention, and I felt myself making a step toward the ensanguined spot."[41]

"Some unfortunate wretches . . . *chewed leather*, myself and many more chewed lead; from which we conceived we *found* considerable *relief*. . . ."[42]

"Peters and Augustus now made several ineffectual efforts to swallow portions of the *leather*. I advised them to *chew* it. . . . I continued to chew pieces of it at intervals, and *found* some *relief* from so doing. . . ."[43]

"I had earnestly cautioned the crew not to taste the salt water, but some of the men, nevertheless, took large *draughts* of it, and became delirious, while others were seized with *violent* cramps and twitching of the stomach and bowels."[45]

". . . I was only prevented from taking a *draught* from the sea by remembering the horrible consequences which thus have resulted to others who were similarly situated with ourselves. . . ."[44]

"We afterward endeavored to relieve our sufferings by mixing the wine with sea-water; but this instantly brought about the most *violent* retchings. . . ."[46]

"On the fourth day a ship was observed bearing towards them in full sail: no time was lost in making signals of distress, and . . . they were answered. . . . The time mentioned by the captain had nearly expired, when, to their extreme mortification, the latter,

". . . I saw distinctly that she was heading immediately for us, with her light sails filled. . . . I was suddenly called . . . once more to the extreme of human misery and despair, by perceiving the ship all at once with her stern fully presented toward us,

---

[40]II, 192. [41]Pp. 112–113. [42]II, 265.
[43]P. 121. [44]Pp. 121–122. [45]I, 146.
[46]P. 141.

The Mariner's Chronicle

regardless of his promise, crowded all his sails and bore away."[47]

"On the last mentioned day the sailors went to him in a body, . . . and after an affecting representation of the deplorable state to which they were reduced, declared that it was necessary to sacrifice one in order to save the rest, adding, that their resolution was irrevocably fixed. . . .

"The captain . . . represented to them that they were men, and ought to regard each other as brethren; that by such an assassination they would for ever consign themselves to universal execration, and commanded them . . . to relinquish the idea of committing such an atrocious crime, . . . but he had spoken to deaf men."[49]

"Thus, day after day passed, and the cravings of hunger increased to such a degree that they fell upon the horrible expedient of eating each other. . . . They cast lots, and he upon whom the lot fell resigned his life with manly fortitude. . . . He requested to be bled to death. . . .

"No sooner had the fatal instrument touched the vein, than the operator applied his parched lips and drank the blood as it flowed, while the rest anxiously watched the victim's departing breath, that they might satisfy the hunger which preyed upon them."[51]

". . . We must have perished ere this, had we not *caught* six

Arthur Gordon Pym

and steering in a direction nearly opposite to that in which I had at first perceived her."[48]

"He proposed, in a few words, that one of us should die to preserve the existence of the others.

". . . I expostulated with him for a long time, and in the most supplicating manner, begging him in the name of every thing which he held sacred . . . to abandon the idea. . . . He said . . . that I might save myself the trouble of trying to turn him from his purpose, his mind having been thoroughly made up. . . . The only method we could devise for the terrific lottery . . . was that of drawing straws. . . . He [the victim] made no resistance whatever, and was stabbed in the back by Peters. . . . Let it suffice to say that, having in some measure appeased the raging thirst which consumed us by the blood of the victim, and having by common consent taken off the hands, feet, and head, throwing them together with the entrails, into the sea, we devoured the rest of the body. . . ."[50]

". . . A smart shower coming on, . . . we turned our attention

---

[47]I, 236–237. [48]P. 122. [49]I, 237–238.
[50]Pp. 123, 124–5, 127, 129. [51]I, 108–109.

The Mariner's Chronicle

quarts *of rain water;* and this we could not have been blessed with, had we not found in the boat a pair of *sheets*. . . ."[52]

"Whenever it rained, cloths were *spread,* with a bullet *in the middle,* to catch the water."[53]

". . . When it rained the sails were extended to catch the water, which was collected in the only two small casks that had been put on board. . . ."[55]

"One of the men in the jolly-boat called out that they had found part of a cold *ham* . . .; a morsel, about the size of a nutmeg, was immediately distributed to each person, and the remainder was thrown overboard, as I was fearful lest it might increase our *thirst*. . . ."[56]

"At day-break we perceived *an enormous shark,* as large as our boat, which followed us several hours, as a prey that was destined for him."[58]

"At the moment when the ship was sinking, she was surrounded by an amazing number of whales. . . . As they *approached* the boats we were extremely apprehensive that they might strike and materially damage them. . . . We, therefore, *shouted,* and employed every effort to scare them away, but without effect. . . ."[60]

". . . The brig Sally . . . was hove on her beam ends, and in less than five minutes turned *keel* upwards. . . . There were on board . . . [five] mariners who

Arthur Gordon Pym

to the *catching of water* by means of the *sheet* we had used before for this purpose. We had no other means of collecting the *rain* than by holding the sheet *spread* out with one of the fore-chain-plates *in the middle* of it. The water, thus conducted to the centre, was drained through into our jug."[54]

"The *ham,* except about two pounds near the bone, was not in a condition to be eaten. . . . The sound part was divided among us. Peters and Augustus . . . swallowed theirs upon the instant; but I was more cautious, and ate but a small portion of mine, dreading the *thirst* which I knew would ensue."[57]

"Toward evening saw several sharks, and were somewhat alarmed by the audacious manner in which an enormously large one *approached* us. . . . *An enormous shark* kept close by the hulk during the whole of the forenoon. . . . No *shouts* or exertions on our part seemed to alarm them."[59]

"A little before daybreak we perceived that the hulk was heeling over. . . . Presently . . . we found ourselves hurled furiously into the sea. . . . Upon coming up

[52]I, 212. [53]II, 103. [54]P. 135.
[55]II, 125–126. [56]I, 143. [57]P. 131.
[58]I, 127–128. [59]Pp. 137, 138, 141. [60]I, 139–140.

The Mariner's Chronicle

were drowned; six other mariners . . . got on the bottom of the vessel, where they were still in a dismal plight. . . . They went to work on her *bottom;* in the mean time keeping their mouths moist, as well as they could, by chewing the stuff of her *bottom;* she not having any *barnacles,* being lately cleaned. . . ."[62]

"To their great joy, on the 1st of September . . . they could just perceive a vessel to windward of them, which . . . came so near that they perceived a piece of canvass that they on the wreck supported on a board, *bore* down for it, and about seven or eight o'clock took them on board; *she* was the brig Norwich, Captain Robert Noyes."[63]

"Not long after, the fire communicated to the powder-room, and it is impossible to describe the noise with which our unfortunate vessel blew up. A thick *cloud* interecepted the light of the sun: amidst this horrible darkness we could perceive nothing but large pieces of flaming *wood,* projected into the air, and whose fall threatened to dash to pieces numbers of unhappy wretches still struggling with the agonies of death. . . . What a spectacle now presented itself! The vessel had disappeared; its

Arthur Gordon Pym

I found myself about twenty yards from the hulk. . . . She was lying *keel* up. . . . By great good fortune, however, I reached the side of the vessel in safety. . . . We found the whole *bottom* . . . *thickly covered with large barnacles.* . . ."[61]

"Just at daybreak we both at the same instant descried a sail to the eastward, and *evidently coming towards us!* . . . Presently we were aware of a sudden commotion on the deck of the stranger, who immediately afterward ran up a British flag, and, hauling her wind, *bore* up directly upon us. In half an hour more we found ourselves in her cabin. *She* proved to be the Jane Guy, of Liverpool, Captain Guy. . . ."[64]

". . . Suddenly a mass of smoke puffed up from the decks, resembling a black and heavy thunder-*cloud* — then, as if from its bowels, arose a tall stream of vivid fire to the height, apparently, of a quarter of a mile — then there came a sudden circular expansion of the flame — then the whole atmosphere was magically crowded, in a single instant, with a wild chaos of *wood,* and metal, and human limbs — and, lastly, came the concussion in its fullest fury, . . . and a dense shower of the minutest *fragments* of the

---

[61]Pp. 142, 143, 144. The last five words in this quotation were italicized by Poe.

[62]III, 197–198.

[63]III, 199.

[64]Pp. 145–147. Poe himself italicized the exclamation.

The Mariner's Chronicle	*Arthur Gordon Pym*
fragments covered the sea to a great distance, and floated in all directions with our unfortunate companions, whose despair and whose lives, had been terminated together by their fall."[66]	ruins tumbled headlong in every direction around us."[65]
"I ordered an oar, to ward off the violence of the surf, to be held on either side of the stern, placing two men at each, and seizing the helm myself, steered directly through the breakers."[67]	"With the help of the superfluous paddles, of which there were a great many, we erected a kind of framework about the bow, so as to break the force of any seas which might threaten to fill us in that quarter."[68]
"Each of us then took off his *shirt,* and with them *we made a* small sprit-*sail*. . . ."[70]	"To these masts *we* attached *a sail made* of our *shirts*. . . ."[69]

In quoting these parallels, I do not mean to imply that we have here, in every case, the very passage that gave Poe his idea. More often than not I had several passages to choose from; for instance, *The Mariner's Chronicle* describes three or four explosions on shipboard, and contains many examples of cannibalism. I have merely tried each time to quote the passage most closely resembling the corresponding passage in *Pym.* If Poe drew on any considerable portion of the passages quoted above, we may conclude that he wrote his story immediately after reading *The Mariner's Chronicle,* while the incidents were still fresh in his mind. In no other way could he have used as he did material collected from widely separated and unrelated portions of the volumes. Partial reliance on his memory would account for his following these passages less closely in certain cases than was his custom. We may be sure, however, that occasionally he referred to *The Mariner's Chronicle,* as he certainly did for the description of the cutting away of the mast.

It will be remembered that Poe's story is divided into two well-defined sections. The first relates the story of the

---

[65]P. 216. [66]II, 13. [67]II, 131.
[68]P. 237. [69]*Ibid.* [70]II, 35.

mutiny, the shipwreck, the sufferings of Pym and his companions, and the rescue of the survivors. This is the section that most closely resembles the sort of thing found in *The Mariner's Chronicle*. And it happens that all of the material that Poe got from *The Mariner's Chronicle* except three suggestions[71] is used in the first part of the story. The second half of *Pym* describes adventures in the South Seas. Let us now consider Poe's main source for that part of his story.

2. Concerning Poe's debt in the *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* to Captain Morrell's *Voyages*[72] the late G. E. Woodberry says:

"The account of the South Seas is taken mainly from Capt. Benjamin Mor[r]ell's 'Narrative of Four Voyages to the South Seas and Pacific, 1822–1831,' Harpers, 1832."[73]

Then follow in parallel columns passages from Poe and Morrell to show "how closely Poe followed the text."[74] Woodberry continues:

"These examples suffice to show in what way the geographical and scientific portions of the work [*Pym*] were written. The passage quoted, but not credited by name, on pp. 205–207, describing the *bêche-de-mer*, is from Mor[r]ell, pp. 401–402, a word or two being omitted here and there by Poe."[75]

---

[71]The explosion on the ship, the use of paddles to keep water out of the small boat, and the use of shirts to make a sail. I have arranged the material given above in the order in which Poe used it, the first parallel being an exception.

[72]Morrell, Benjamin. *A Narrative of Four Voyages, to the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean. From the Year 1822 to 1831. Comprising Critical Surveys of Coasts and Islands, with Sailing Directions. And an Account of Some New and Valuable Discoveries, including the Massacre Islands, where Thirteen of the Author's Crew were Massacred and Eaten by Cannibals. To which is prefixed A Brief Sketch of the Author's Early Life.* New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832.

[73]*The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Stedman and Woodberry, Chicago, 1899, V, p. 356.

[74]*Ibid.*

[75]*Ibid.*, p. 358.

On the other hand, Dr. John W. Robertson says[76] that Poe did not servilely copy or paraphrase Morrell. His words are:

"No incident related bears the slightest resemblance to the dangers, sufferings, horrors and mutinies to which Pym was subjected, further than the fact that Captain Morrell lost a few men in his attempt to establish a trading station. He lost no ship and had, outside his one misfortune, no exciting adventures.[77] Being a man of scientific mind Captain Morrell did make and relate certain zoölogical observations that Poe copied, and also mentioned other details, geographical and historical. Poe refers to these voyages of Morrell's, repeatedly quoting statements, and he makes no effort to conceal their source. Occasionally he paraphrases and judiciously condenses the somewhat verbose descriptions of Morrell, as when he describes the nesting penguins and albatross. Neither in conception, narration, plot, nor action, does the voyage of Pym bear the slightest resemblance to those of Morrell. . . . As far as I can judge his inventions were original. . . . Pym's descriptions and the plot of his story alone call for criticism. There is no possibility of plagiarism."[78]

This statement of Dr. Robertson seems to me to be misleading in several particulars. It is directed against Woodberry, and involves a misinterpretation of what he had said. Woodberry did not say that any of the harrowing experiences of Pym had been taken from Morrell, but merely that that part of *Arthur Gordon Pym* which deals with the South Seas had been taken mainly from Morrell's *Voyages*. Furthermore, it is not true that Poe makes no effort to conceal

---

[76]In his book, *Edgar A. Poe: A Study*, San Francisco, 1921, p. 259.

[77]Morrell barely escaped imprisonment and possible execution in South America (pp. 133–134); he was forced to sail within four miles of an active volcano on Narborough Island with the temperature of the air at 147° and that of the water at 150° (p. 194); he and seven other men fought at close range with over fifty savage Indians in California (pp. 203–206); his wife, officers, and crew were assailed by fever, and he feared for a time that every man aboard would die (pp. 343–351); in addition to his "one misfortune" on Massacre Island, where thirteen of his men were killed and eaten (pp. 410–414) and one man was captured and made a slave (to be rescued later by his captain), Morrell's men and his ship were repeatedly attacked by hordes of bloodthirsty warriors—some of them cannibals—in several South Sea islands (pp. 391, 393, 436, 438, 449). These, in my opinion, were exciting adventures.

[78]*Ibid.*, pp. 259–261.

his source. Very little of what he copied or paraphrased from Morrell is attributed to its source. It is my purpose here to point out the extent of Poe's debt to Morrell and to show what part of that debt Poe acknowledged.

The parallel passages (*q.v.*) which Woodberry quoted[79] from Morrell and Poe are a part of their accounts of Kerguelen's Land, the penguins, the rookery, the island of Tristan d'Acunha, and the Aurora Islands. In each case Woodberry quotes a passage of sufficient length to indicate how closely Poe followed Morrell, but inadequate to show the extent of the indebtedness. He quotes 108 words from Morrell's account of Kerguelen's Land and 153 from Poe's, whereas the parallel includes approximately 590 words in Morrell (pp. 61–63) and about 445 in Poe (pp. 152–153). Woodberry quotes about one-third (74 words) of Poe's description of the royal penguin (pp. 153–154), but the whole account is taken from Morrell. In this case Poe combines two passages from Morrell (pp. 64 and 50) which total approximately 195 words. Woodberry quotes 63 words from Morrell's description of the rookeries of the birds and 79 from Poe's. But Morrell (in *c.* 1000 words) and Poe (in *c.* 830) give a much fuller description of the rookeries as well as an account of the albatross and the friendship which exists between it and the penguin. Poe follows Morrell as closely throughout the passage as he does in the part quoted by Woodberry.

The section quoted by Woodberry from Morrell's account of Tristan d'Acunha contains 119 words; that from Poe's, 133. It should be added that Poe's whole account (pp. 159–162) of Tristan d'Acunha and two neighboring islands, approximately 930 words, was condensed from a corresponding passage in Morrell (pp. 352–355) of around 1270 words. And, finally, though Woodberry quotes only 71 words from Morrell's sketch of the Auroras and only 84 from Poe's, the parallel extends to a little over 600 words in Morrell (pp. 56–58) and about 700 in Poe (pp. 162–164). These figures indicate that Poe usually condensed his source.

---

[79] *Op. cit.*, pp. 356–358.

As Woodberry has pointed out, Poe's account (pp. 196–199) of the *bêche-de-mer* is quoted with slight change from Morrell (pp. 400–402). The passage and a brief introductory statement which was suggested by Morrell contain 679 words. Poe's sketch (pp. 168–170) of Morrell's explorations in the Antarctic region and the two quotations from the latter's journal are from pages 65, 66, and 67 of Morrell. This parallel covers about 430 words in each.

I have arranged in parallel columns other passages that are strikingly similar, giving the material in the order in which Poe used it.

Morrell's *Voyages*

"The *name* of this archipelago is *derived* from *the Spanish word 'galapago', a fresh-water* tortoise, and it was given to these islands because they abound with the largest class of those *animals*, a species of *terrapin*, to which Commodore Porter gave the name of *'elephant tortoise,'* as their legs, feet, and motions strongly resemble those of an elephant. 'Many of them,' says he 'are of a size to weigh upwards of three hundred weight, and nothing, perhaps, can be more disagreeable or clumsy than they are in *their* external *appearance. Their steps are slow*, regular, *and heavy; they carry their bodies about a foot from the ground; their neck is from eighteen inches to two feet in length*, and very *slender;* their *head* is proportioned to it, and strongly *resembles that of a serpent.* But what seems the most extraordinary in this animal, is the *length of time* that it *can exist without food;* for I have been well assured,' continues the commodore, 'that they have been piled away among casks, in *the hold of a* ship, where they have

Arthur Gordon Pym

"It is found principally, as most of my readers may know, in the group of islands called the Gallipagos, which, indeed, *derive* their *name* from the *animal — the Spanish word Gallipago* meaning *a fresh-water terrapin.* From the peculiarity of their shape and action they have been sometimes called the *elephant tortoise.* They are frequently found of an enormous size. I have myself seen several which would weigh from twelve to fifteen hundred pounds, although I do not remember that any navigator speaks of having seen them weighing more than *eight hundred. Their appearance* is singular and even disgusting. *Their steps are* very *slow*, measured, *and heavy, their bodies* being *carried about a foot from the ground. Their neck is* long and exceedingly *slender; from eighteen inches to two feet* is a very common *length*, and I killed one, where the distance from the shoulder to the extremity of the head was no less than three feet ten inches. The *head* has a striking *resemblance* to *that of a serpent.* They *can exist without*

Morrell's *Voyages*

been kept eighteen months, and when killed *at the expiration of* that *time,* were found to have suffered no diminution in fatness or excellence. *They carry with them a constant supply of water, in a bag at the root of the neck,* which contains about two *gallons;* and on tasting that found in those we killed on board, it proved *perfectly fresh and sweet.* They are very restless when exposed to the light and heat of the sun, but will lie in the dark from one year's end to the other, without moving.'

"These animals grow to even a greater size than that mentioned by Commodore Porter, as I have seen some that would weigh from six to *eight hundred* pounds. *They are excellent food, and have no doubt* saved *the lives of thousands of seamen employed in the whale-fishery* in those seas, both Americans and Englishmen. I have known whale-ships to take from six to nine hundred of the smallest size of these tortoises on board, when about leaving the islands for their cruising grounds; thus providing themselves with fresh provisions for six or eight months, and securing the men against the scurvy. I have had these animals aboard my own vessels from five to six months, *without* their once taking food or water; and on killing them I have found *more than a quart of sweet* fresh *water in* the receptacle which nature has furnished them for that purpose, while their flesh was *in as good* condition *as when* I *first* took them on board.

Arthur Gordon Pym

food for an almost incredible *length of time,* instances having been known where they have been thrown into *the hold of a* vessel and lain two years *without* nourishment of any kind — being as fat, and, in every respect, *in as good* order *at the expiration of* the *time as when* they were *first* put in. In one particular these extraordinary animals bear a resemblance to the dromedary, or camel of the desert. *In a bag at the root of the neck they carry with them a constant supply of water.* In some instances, upon killing them after a full year's deprivation of all nourishment, as much as three *gallons* of *perfectly sweet and fresh* water have been found in their bags. . . . *They are excellent* and highly nutritious *food, and have, no doubt,* been the means of preserving *the lives of thousands of seamen employed in the whale-fishery* and other pursuits in the Pacific.

"The one which we had the good fortune to bring up from the store-room was not of a large size, weighing probably sixty-five or seventy pounds. It was a female, and in excellent condition, being exceedingly fat, and having *more than a quart of* limpid and *sweet water in* its bag."[80]

[80] Pp. 132–133.

Morrell's *Voyages*	*Arthur Gordon Pym*
They have been known to live on board of some of our whale-ships for fourteen months, under similar circumstances, without any aparent diminution of health or weight."[81]	
"For such an enterprise, the necessary *articles* of traffic are, *beads, looking-glasses, tinder-works, axes, hatchets, adzes, saws, planes, chisels, gouges, gimlets, files, rasps, spoke-shaves, hammers, knives, scissors, razors, needles, thread,* different kinds of *crockery-ware,* cheap chintz, and *calicoes* of bright gaudy colours, and all sorts of *trinkets.*"[83]	"He had on board, as usual on such voyages, *beads, looking-glasses, tinder-works, axes, hatchets, saws, adzes, planes, chisels, gouges, gimlets, files, spoke-shaves, rasps, hammers,* nails, *knives, scissors, razors, needles, thread, crockery-ware, calico, trinkets,* and other similar *articles.*"[82]
"Our object was to make *the Cape Verd Islands* by the most direct course the winds and weather would admit of, as we were there to procure *salt and other necessaries for the voyage.*"[84]	"The schooner sailed from Liverpool on the tenth of July . . . and reached Sal, one of *the Cape Verd Islands,* on the twenty-ninth, where she took in *salt and other necessaries for the voyage.*"[85]
"Ships *bound from Europe to the Cape of Good Hope, or by that route to the East Indies,* generally take their departure from one of the *Cape Verd* Islands, and then *steer south-west, stretching over towards the coast of Brazil so as to cross the equator between the meridians of 28° and 30° west longitude.* This apparently round-about course is adopted to *avoid the* tedious *calms and* adverse *currents which continually prevail on the coast of Guinea.* . . . Though this west-	"On the third of August, she left the *Cape Verds* and *steered southwest, stretching over towards the coast of Brazil, so as to cross the equator between the meridians of twenty-eight and thirty degrees west longitude.* This is the course usually taken by vessels *bound from Europe to the Cape of Good Hope, or by that route to the East Indies.* By proceeding thus they *avoid the calms and* strong contrary *currents which continually prevail on the coast of Guinea,* while, *in the*

[81] Pp. 125–126. [82] P. 149. [83] P. 433.

[84] P. 255. Morrell gives a minute description of every island in the group, and says that he stopped at Sal, which he says has the best harbor in the islands (p. 262).

[85] P. 149.

Morrell's *Voyages*

ern course involves the greatest distance, it always proves *to be the shortest in the end,* as they who adopt it never lack *westerly winds* to waft them to *the Cape* of Good Hope."[87]

"Marion's Island, with its neighbour *Prince Edward's,* will be kept on our larboard quarter, *in lat. 46° 53′ S., long. 37° 46′ E.;* as will also *Possession Island, and* a cluster near it called *Crozet's Islands, in latitude 42° 59′ S., long. 48° 0′ E.*"[88]

"On the islands at the mouth of the bay are rookeries of *the albatross,* &c. There *are* also *to be* had *here* some *Port Egmont hens, sea-hens, cape-pigeons, blue petrels, ducks, teal,* and *the Nelly. . . .*"[90]

"The *shags* here are of two kinds. . . . Here are also *sea-swallows, terns, common sea-gulls, Mother Carey's chickens,* and *Mother Carey's geese, or the great petrel:* this last-named bird *is as large as* an *albatross, and is carnivorous,* feeding on the carcasses of dead seals and birds. *It is* sometimes *called* the *osprey-petrel, or breakbones.* It often *sails close to the surface of the*

Arthur Gordon Pym

end, it is found *to be the shortest* track, as *westerly winds* are never wanting afterward by which to reach *the Cape.*"[86]

"On the thirteenth of October we came in sight of *Prince Edward's* Island, *in latitude 46° 53′ S., longitude 37° 46′ E.* Two days afterward we found ourselves near *Possession Island, and* presently passed the *islands of Crozet, in latitude 42° 59′ S., longitude 48° E.*"[89]

"Besides the penguin many other birds *are here to be* found, among which may be mentioned *sea-hens, blue peterels, teal, ducks, Port Egmont hens, shags, Cape pigeons, the nelly, sea-swallows, terns, sea-gulls, Mother Carey's chickens, Mother Carey's geese, or the great peterel,* and, lastly, *the albatross.*

"*The great peterel is as large as* the *common albatross, and is carnivorous. It is* frequently *called* the *break-bones, or osprey peterel. They are* not at all shy, and, when properly cooked, are *palatable food.* In flying they sometimes *sail* very *close to the surface of the water, with* the

---

[86]*Ibid.*

[87]Pp. 257–258. Pym mentions seing the right whale (pp. 150 and 179), and Morrell also speaks of whales of the right species (pp. 60, 105, 116, 293, 296, 298, and 319). Possibly Pym's account of the gale encountered in the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope (pp. 150–151) is based on Morrell's account of the changeable winds at Table Bay. Both speak of a rapid shift of the wind from one direction to the opposite after the appearance of a white cloud (see Morrell, pp. 309–310).

[88]P. 61. [89]P. 152. [90]P. 63.

Morrell's *Voyages*	*Arthur Gordon Pym*
water, with its *wings expanded,* yet *without appearing to move them. They are* very tame, and *not unpalatable food.*"[92]	*wings expanded, without appearing to move them* in the least degree, or make any exertion with them whatever."[91]
"In our search *for seal we were occupied* more than a week, rowing and sailing round the island, and *examining* every beach; but *our labours were not crowned with any* great *success.* We did not see in our whole survey more than three thousand *fur-seal,* of which we took two hundred. On the *west* side, however, we saw about four thousand *sea-elephants,* and about fifteen hundred on the east side."[93]	"As soon as we lost sight of him we proceeded . . . on our cruise around the coast, looking *for seal.* In this business *we were occupied* about three weeks, *examining* with great care every nook and corner. . . . *Our labours,* however, *were not crowned with any* important *success.* We saw a great many *fur seal,* but they were exceedingly shy, and with the greatest exertions, we could only procure three hundred and fifty skins in all. *Sea-elephants* were abundant, especially on the *western* coast of the mainland, but of these we killed only twenty, and this with great difficulty."[94]

[91]P. 154.

[92]P. 64. In "Some Observations on Poe's Origins," University of Texas *Studies in English,* Number 10, 1930, p. 144, Mr. Robert Lee Rhea points out that some of these birds are mentioned in Captain Cook's *Voyages.* It is obvious, however, that Poe carried over the entire list from Morrell. Morrell says in a prefatory note that he has supplemented personal observation by drawing on various sources.

[93]P. 62.

[94]Pp. 157–158. The island was Kerguelen's Land. Near the beginning of the same paragraph Poe says that Captain Guy put a sealed letter in a bottle and left it on a high peak to be found by some later visitor to the island. Morrell says nothing about the leaving of a manuscript in a bottle. However, the article about Kerguelen's Land in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* (Rees, Abraham, *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature,* London, 1819, XIX)—which, by the way, is, as far as it goes, so much like a part of Morrell's account that the latter must have read it or used the same source—recounts the finding by Captain Cook's crew of a bottle in which earlier visitors had left a letter. Captain Cook, in turn, placed a letter in the bottle. Poe may have read the account of the manuscript in the bottle in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* or in Captain Cook's *Voyages* (Cook, Captain James, and King, Captain James, *A Voyage*

Morrell's *Voyages*

"*Fish* are plenty, and of many varieties. The principal kinds which fell under our observation while we lay at this island were *rock-cod, mackerel, black-fish, skate, blue dolphins, conger-eels, elephant-fish, m u l l e t s , soles, flounders,* blue porgies, *gurnards,* nurses, *hake, paracutas, parrot-fish, leather-jackets,* and a kind of small *salmond.*"[96]

"In appeasing the cravings of hunger these people are, in fact, horribly disgusting to a civilized person, — being actually fonder of the *entrails of* cattle and sheep than of any other part. On my killing some of these *animals* on the beach for the use of our crew, the natives devoured the entrails raw, before they were cold. . . . At their villages I observed that they roasted their beef. . . . The entrails, however, were seldom cooked, as the luxurious epicures preferred them warm from the animal."[97]

Arthur Gordon Pym

"Of *fish* there seemed to be a great abundance. We saw, during our visit, a quantity of dried *salmon, rock cod, blue dolphins, mackerel, blackfish, skate, conger eels, elephant-fish, mullets, soles, parrotfish, leather-jackets, gurnards, hake, flounders, paracutas,* and innumerable other varieties."[95]

". . . He immediately ordered dinner. This was handed into the tent over the heads of the attendants, and consisted of the palpitating *entrails of* a species of unknown *animal,* probably one of the slim-legged hogs which we had observed in our approach to the village. Seeing us at a loss how to proceed, he began, by way of setting us an example, to devour yard after yard of the enticing food, until we could positively stand it no longer, and evinced such manifest symptoms of rebellion of stomach as inspired his majesty with a degree of astonishment only inferior to that brought about by the looking-glasses."[98]

This concludes the passages that are closely parallel, but for many other details of varied importance it seems probable that Poe is Morrell's debtor. In his account of his journey southward Pym mentions ice islands, rain, hail

---

to the Pacific Ocean . . ., London, 1784, I, pp. 32–33). Mr. Meredith Neill Posey (in "Notes on Poe's *Hans Pfaall*," *Modern Language Notes*, XLV, pp. 501–507) has shown that Poe obtained material for *Hans Pfaall* from Rees's *Cyclopaedia.*

[95]P. 190. Again Mr. Rhea (*loc. cit.*) tells us that some of these fish are mentioned in Captain Cook's *Voyages.* But it is easy to see where Poe got his list.

[96]P. 362. [97]P. 299. [98]P. 193.

squalls, snow, birds that inhabit the cold regions, the temperature of the air and water, sounding gear consisting of a large iron pot and a long line, being hemmed in by the ice, the direction and speed of the currents, the absence of ice as he approached the south pole, and the lack of fuel. Morrell also mentions these things (pp. 60, 65–67). Pym next explored Bennet's Island, where he found prickly-pear. Morrell mentions an island where the prickly-pear grows (p. 125). Pym says that some of Captain Guy's men were attacked by the scurvy; and Morrell refers to the scurvy or scurvy-grass many times (pp. 88, 94, 125, 158, 361, 467, 468).

Captain Guy's experience with the treacherous savages was probably suggested by Morrell's experiences on the coast of Africa and on several islands, especially the Massacre Islands, where thirteen of his crew were treacherously slain and eaten by cannibals. I give below the main particulars in Poe for which he found a counterpart or suggestion in Morrell, putting in parentheses the page references to Morrell: the ship arrives at an island surrounded by a reef (395); men in a small boat look for an opening in the reef (395); canoes filled with natives approach (395); the sailors display a white flag (395); a native chief harangues his men (397, 404, 408); only a small number of the natives are admitted on board at one time (92); the natives are astonished at what they see, especially at muskets, cannon, and a mirror (395–396); at first the natives are very friendly (395–406); *bêche-de-mer* is found to be plentiful (395); a visit is made to a village on the interior of the island (404); hostages are taken on board the ship (409); a careful watch is kept to prevent a surprise attack (405); there are two social classes among the natives (367); all the islands of the group have one king in common (403); the sailors plan to kill the chief if the natives attack them (408); the natives promise to help with the gathering and curing of *bêche-de-mer* (399, 410); the natives help erect a building (405); they supply provisions (399); they are astonished at the rapidity with which the sailors fell trees (403); the sailors on shore are attacked and some are

killed (410–412) ; two detachments of boats attack the ship (436) ; the natives are slaughtered by cannon (436–438).

Finally, Morrell's accounts of burning volcanoes, some of them submarine, describe the following phenomena: the water becomes very hot (193 ff., 488) ; flashes of light flicker in the sky (106, 189, 192 ff., 274, 462) ; agitations appear on the surface of the water, attended by flaring up of vapor (487) ; a fine powder falls rapidly (160, 185, 189, 214). All of these strange things were also observed by Pym and Peters as they journeyed southward toward the pole after the destruction of their shipmates.

With this material before him the reader may see that Woodberry is entirely correct in saying that that part of *Arthur Gordon Pym* which deals with the South Seas is taken mainly from Morrell's *Voyages*. Poe's certain debt to Morrell comprises the account of the Gallipago tortoise, the list of articles of traffic with the South Sea islanders, the stop at the Cape Verde Islands, the course steered after leaving these islands, the reference to Prince Edward's Island and Crozet's Islands, the description and history of Kerguelen's Land, the classification and description of the penguins, the list of birds, the description of the rookery, the description and history of Tristan d'Acunha, the tales concerning the Aurora Islands, the quotations from Morrell's journal, the list of fish, the food of the natives, and the account of the *bêche-de-mer*. All of the material that Poe got from Morrell except the account of the Gallipago tortoise was used in the second half of his story. The only parts of this debt that Poe acknowledged are the two brief quotations from Morrell's journal and the account of the *bêche-de-mer*, the latter being attributed merely to "a modern history of a voyage to the South Seas."